# A REPLY
TO THE
# ANSVVER
OF THE
# CATHOLIQVE
# APOLOGY.

Or a cleere vindication of the Catholiques of England from all matter of fact charg'd against them by their Enemyes.

M. DC. LXVIII.

# REPLY

TO THE

# ANSVVER

OF THE

# CATHOLIQVE

## APOLOGY.

Or a sincere vindication of the Catholiques of England from all matter of fact charged against them by their Enemyes.

M DC. LXVIII.

# PREFACE TO ALL THE ROYALLISTS that suffered for HIS MAJESTY: AND To all the rest of the Good People of *ENGLAND*.

*My Lords and Gentlemen:*

IF formerly the English Catholiques by their *Apology* did intreat your Intercession to our Gratious Monarch, in suspending the execution of those severities then proclaimed: I (a member of that faithful Body) must now beseech your Justice against the malice of a Parson, who not

only ſtrives to oppreſs the Loyal, but alſo (by the inferences of his Diſcourſe) would ſtifle hereafter zeal, and mitigate, if he could, the fire, that reſides in the breaſts of all generous Subjects. Can any thing touch men of Honour more, then after the loſs of ſo many Lives and Eſtates, inſultingly to have it ſaid, *It was but your Duty?* Nay, to go yet farther, even in a barbarous falſity, that Neceſſity only forc'd us to what we did, and that at all times you would rather far have had our room then Company. What Preacher preacht this in the days of old? Or who told us when *Cromwel* lived, *Be gone, y ou are no friends to Cæſar?* It was our Duty, I confeſs, and a Duty which no good man can refuſe his Soveraign, neither ſhall we ever be ſhockt in the fervour of it, by the Doctrine of ſuch a *Rabby*.

The reaſon why I now take up the Gantlet of this *Goliah*, is to ſhew the candour of our Actions, being yet purer then his words are black: which though many could do far better then I, yet here I appear challenged into the Liſt, as *Author* of the late *Apology*. Author I can call my ſelf, if plain words may create that Title; but the Duty and Submiſſion is the ſence of the whole Catholique Party; and for the matter

matter of Fact, Books are the preſervers of it, which will for ever record our Innocence, in deſpite of ſuch detraction and calumny.

A *Jeſuit*, the Miniſter is pleas'd to call me, though I had not the happineſs to be bred in their learned Schools: but the trick of this poor man plainly appears, that thus he hopes to make Truth it ſelf ſuſpected, becauſe by the Preaching of ſuch *Paſtors*, the ignorant (as children conſider *Sarazens*) have moſt fond *Ideas* of the Society and of all Prieſts in general.

*My Lords and Gentlemen*, Before I go any farther, I think it moſt neceſſary to tell you what moved me to write that *Pamphlet*; which wken you have well weighed, you will find in the intention, perchance that Piety, which is uſually lodged in an English Heart: and that you may aſſure your ſelves of the ſincerity of my thoughts, Know, that if my Arm was too weak to weild a Sword in the late juſt War, I had then a paſſion to wish my years greater. But though I thus loſt the Honour of laying my life at the feet of the injured Father, I had yet the ſatisfaction to hazard it for the Son, even before and ſince his happy Reſtauration. For my neer Relations, they all ſuffe-

red in the Common Cause, which as it brought death to some, so to others the sale of their cōsiderable Estates, and the best Fortune that any could expect, was to be crowded into the dreadful List for Cōposition. I am sure my zeal to the Royal Family has been as forward (to my power) as the best, more then which no body certainly can do; nor have I ever been farther Satyrical against those that stand at Helm, then by innocently saying, *We Catholiques are always most unfortunate.* This is the Profession I have lived in, and in the same loyal Faith will I end my days. Doubtless then I could have no siniſter design in publishing the *Apology*; the good end I had, let the World consider.

*My first Motive* was the Law of Nature, which gives the Needy leave to call for Mercy: nor was there at any time a Nation so cruel, that ever yet denied this favour.

Could there be a more frightful sight, then to see the whole English World on a sudden, point and cry, *Fie on them, Fie on them?* What scoffing Blasphemies did the Seditious utter? How did Tenants begin to confront their Landlords? Nay, (omitting several insolencies of the Rabble) I knew some Justices, by

reason

reaſon of private ſpleen to their Neighbours, ſeize on a Servant, threatning his commitment, unleſs he made Oath what his Maſter daily did. Thus then in a trice we became an Eye-ſore to our Friends, and a by-word among the Common Ennemies.

But now my Miniſter will nimbly demand, *Is not this accuſing the King, and blaming the whole Parliament for their Advice and Counſel?* To which I anſwer, firſt, with the great Embaſſador of Heaven, *God forbid*: Nor is it poſſible for a man, who would hazard whatever is dear to him on Earth for the glory of his Country, to harbour ſuch thoughts againſt lawful and juſt Authority. Pray, *Maſter Parſon*, let me ask you, Whether Laws in all places are executed by inferiour Officers, according to the intent of the Legiſlator? Remember, Sir, the infinitely wiſe Bill of purging Corporations, and you will find how private revenge converted it into quite another thing. This is a Flayl, againſt which perchance no wiſdom can make defence; but nevertheleſs, 'tis Vineger, and may force a ſhriek from the oppreſt, without offence to Government.

*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I do with all ſubmiſſion acknowledge that Counſellors (eſpecially

cially the Supream) may advise their Soveraign to put Laws in force, without giving a reason to the Publick; and moreover, I do farther say, that it was mercy that they were till then suspended: yet it is no crime, even when they are revived, humbly to beg for favour. And to illustrate this, consider, I beseech you, an Example.

Imagine that his Majesty being returned, an honest Cavalier was restored to his House, which with two parts of his Lands lay round about a City, the prime Jewel in the Royal-Diadem. Here the good man sitting now under his own vine, daily blesses God for the happiness of the Nation; and here each moment he conceives fresh joys, by considering how superlative his late sufferings were. If now on a sudden both Houses (upon mature deliberation) should beseech his Majesty to make use of old Laws, to new fortifie this his most considerable place (which consequently would destroy this Subjects Estate) no body, I think, could wonder to see him amazed and troubled. Suppose then, to divert this ruine, the poor mā should beseech his friends to intercede, should shew his sufferings, should urge reasons that his house would be a strength to the Town,

and

and that the Kings Enemies have certainly ſome bad deſign by his calamity. For all this the Prince is no way neceſſitated to grant his requeſt, Becauſe reaſons which ſeem ſtrong to a Party concerned, may yet in themſelves be frivolous, when they are weighed by judgments who know far better the ſtate of things, then private men can be conceived to do. But yet, it were ſevere to indite this man for a Libeller, or ſay (becauſe he begs) that he mutinies againſt Obedience and Rule.

*Niniveh* might call for mercy without affronting Heaven, even after ſentence was given; nor has ever the King of Kings, when he punishes, forbad his children to cry, *Remember Abraham, Remember Iſaac, Remember Jacob; O Lord remember the promiſes that thou haſt made of old.*

*My ſecond Reaſon*, was as a Subject to keep the Peace, and to the utmoſt of my power to prevent all ſtrife and diviſion. This is an obligation which no ſon of *Adam* can plead exemption from: for ſeeing all men are under ſomme Government or other, and Quiet the ſole end of that, everybody muſt uſe the beſt means he can (ſo it contradict not Laws) to preſerve the thing for which Magiſtracy it ſelf

was eſtablished. No Creature, I am ſure, can be ignorant of the diſtraction then in *England*: for he that was in the City, fled to his Farm, frightned with the noiſe of a new fire; and he that got into the Country, poaſted again to Town, to eſcape the Maſſacre, which deſigned whiſpers dayly threatned.

If this diſorder was amongſt Proteſtants, what dreadful confuſion muſt you imagine amongſt Catholiques, who are but a handful comparatively to the whole, and yet the famed Authors of theſe two Conſpiracies! Was it unbeſeeming then an English Chriſtian to wish a better underſtanding among his Countrymen, and to deſire the Royal-Party should not be disjoyned, eſpecially when an Invaſion was menaced by our Confederate Neighbours; and a Rebellion newly broke out within the Circuit of our own Iſland? If remedies were needful, what Medicament could be better applied then the gentle balm of true perſwaſion? By this men ſaw *the Tares which the Enemy ſowed whilſt they ſlept*; and thus they began to reknow their often tried friends, deſcended (according to Nature and Grace) from thoſe Anceſtors, who like ſo many *Atlas's* upheld the Grandeur of our Kings, whilſt the whole World

World from East to West admired their Victories.

Consider then, I beseech you, (Great Patriots) in whom the Prince of darkness reigns; whether in me that am termed a *Jesuit*, and would banish all discord from among my Brethren; or in this strange Minister, who to sow Sedition, plows with perverted Storie, and then harrows with downright falsities and untruths.

How does this poor man rip up old tales of Popes, and by discovering his passion and fancy, infer, that it is a check to the Glory of Kings, and utter loss of Soveraignty, to be under the spiritual Jurisdiction of this Universal Bishop? Why do not the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Poland* see this? How comes it to pass also, that the Emperor (who is Absolute Monarch of *Hungary* and *Boheme*) and the other great Princes of *Germany*, are ignorant of a thing of so much concernment? This I much wonder at indeed, especially since their Countries have so swarmed with these Reformed Evangelists: But it may be they are careless of their interest, and so is the *simple Florentine*, who with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the rest of the *Italian Re-*

*gulets*, want as much wit as they do Authority and Power.

These Princes, even these very last, live, as I may say, just under his Holiness his Nose; and yet ( when they please ) dispute about Temporals, not only with Sword in hand, but are so absolute and arbitrary in their Dominiõs, that *England* would groan to bear once in many ages, what their Subjects daily suffer.

Reflecting thus on the premises, might not I well wonder in our Apology, how so wild a calumny could be laid to our charge, as that our Principles are destructive to Soveraignty? Truly, I did wonder, and that not a little, especially since our fore-fathers were so eminent in Religion, and yet our Kings rather Monarchs of *Europe*, then of half an Isle, giving Laws whereso'ever they pleased. If some Popes have been exorbitant, 'tis no more our Faith to believe their actions iust, then that humane transgressions are the true Precepts of Christianity. As some wicked mẽ dealt ill with Gods Anointed; so on the other side, who defended these Princes against pretended illegal impositions of *Rome? were they not Papists?* Yes, and so fervent for that Truth, that the next day they would take the *Croisado*

next

againſt any forreign Hereticks.

'Tis no breach in our Religion to ſay, that Popes in their private Determinations may erre, much leſs, that they ſin like men. A Pope and Council in matters of Faith I confeſs Infallible; and therefore I look upon the Decrees of *Trent*, as divine as thoſe of *Nice*: nor were there, I am ſure, more tricks againſt Proteſtants pretended in this, then in the former againſt the ſtrong and numerous *Arrians*. No man abominates Prelatick inſolencies more then I: Bring out then the Glorious Roll, and upon examination you will find, that our braveſt Catholique Princes have been the beſt ſons of the Church: nor is yet a King by our Tenets the worſe Child for defending his Rights and Priviledges. *Cæſar muſt have what is Cæſars*, and *to God we muſt render what is Gods.*

Shall Notions then convince Experience, when as Demonſtration it ſelf often gives way to Practice? Let us now ſummon for witneſſes to this great Truth, the preſent Kings of our Profeſſion; and though their thoughts towre far higher then Eagles, they will not only deride the contrary, but unanimouſly proclaim, that their people are not rebellious

by reaſon of Eccleſiaſtical dependence abroad, nor do they think themſelves leſs abſolute then that very Prince, who cries, *There ought to be no other Pope then Me.*

What ſhall I ſay then to ſuch a man, who will yet affirm our Principles inconſiſtent with Obedience? To adviſe him to *Anticyra* is vain, forno *Ellebore* can purge that madneſs, which firſt taking root by ignorance, has afterward been quite transformed, through intereſt, into an obſtinate, and ſelfdeceiving wilfulneſs.

*My Lords and Gentlemen*, As malice has forced the Anſwerer thus ill to apply his reading, ſo alſo it hath ſtained his face with ſo deep a dye, that now he blushes at nothing, nor regards any more whatever he ſays. Well might I have pardoned him his rude upbraiding, *That our ſufferings were but Duties*, becauſe it is a real Truth: yet no Subject takes pleaſure in the ſound, when in rancour and deſpite it is uſed againſt him. I ſay, well might I with ſilence have ſwallowed this, ſeeing afterwards I was to hear him with impudēce proclaim, That Papiſts were forc'd to their bravery, and like a hard-hunted-Deer, we threw our ſelves into the Herd, glad to be sheltered underthe Royal covert. Glad, we cōfeſs, as Loyal men

al men graſp the occaſion of expreſſing zeal; but that we could not ſit quietly at home, I flatly here deny: nay, day is not clearer then this, that had not our Loyalty forbad, we might with triumph have been received even into the very embraces of the Enemy.

Had this Miniſter peruſed Books any farther then their *Indices* againſt Catholiques, he would have ſeen, that let Rebels declare what they will, they'll ſoon find excuſes, and publickly make uſe of thoſe very things (when tis for their advantage) againſt which in the beginning they openly profeſt. Was not *Godlineß*, *Godlineß*, the cry of all the Saints? yet becauſe dexterity was needful, they admitted into their league *H. Martin* and others, who were then as notorious for their Vices, as afterwards eminent in all the abominations of the Land.

Again, if the Papiſts were purſued, againſt *Biſhops* there was as fierce a Chaſe; and ever after, *Popery* and *Prelacy* were continually plac'd in the ſame *Parentheſis*. For my part, I believe the *English Epiſcopacie* ſtuck more in their ſtomacks then we; becauſe Hereticks hate moſt that Religion which is but one remove above them, and from which they are ever

iuſt

iuſtly taxt rebelliouſly to have gone out. Beſides, the Catholikes (being of a Faith for which the People had a prejudice) could no ways obſtruct the Reformation, which they ſo earneſtly intended. 'Tis plain then, againſt *Prelats* they had as great, if not a greater Pique: yet when it conduced to the reducing of *North Wales*, and ſubduing of Sir *John Owen*, they made commander of their Forces not onely a *Bishop*, but an Arch-bishop alſo, I mean (that *real Chimæra*) his graceleſs *Grace* of *York*.

But why do I trouble you with theſe probable arguments to prove the poſsibility of our reception, whenas the matter of fact is certain, not done in a corner, but in the Palace of a King, and in the ſight of all his Nobles? Sir *Arthur Aſton*, a Catholick of Quality and Experience, offered our late Souveraign his ſervice, and the ſervice of many more, upon the firſt preparations of War. The good Prince ſincerely gave him thanks; but told him, that by reaſon of their *Religion*, he durſt not admit them into the Army: for the Rebels (who never omitted a pretence), would make uſe of this, to diſcredit him among the people. This Knight being refuſed thus, rode in all haſte to *London*, and made the like tender to *Eſſex*. The Earl upon the

the propoſal conſults the *Cabal*, who preſently adviſed him to accept the offer; and ſo a formal Commiſſion was given Sir *Arthur*. He immediately poſted back to the Court, and there ſhewed the Commiſſion to his Majeſtie; which when he ſaw, and together with it the Intrigue of theſe Jugglers, he not onely gave Sir *Arthur* a Command, but from that time declared all Catholicks welcome, who thereupon from every Quarter haſtned to his help and ſuccour.

The Deſignes which the Rebels had herein, were many: for by this they not onely hoped to get to themſelves a Party well verſed in War, great in Bloud, and of Eſtates anſwerable to that Bloud; but alſo were ſure at the ſame inſtant to weaken as much the King, as they brought ſtrength to themſelves: and beſides, they farther conſidered, that this might adde a gloſs to their proceedings abroad, becauſe all Neighbouring Princes (being Catholiques) would then probably look on their actions with a more partial eye. *Scripture* alſo, which is the ſtalking-horſe of all Sects, could not be wanting to them, who

had already, with a *Curse ye Meroz*, invited all to Rebellion. That very Example might have been a Warrant, that the Godly & Profane may joyn in a Confederation. At least 'twas evident, that the children of *Israel*, who *went to fight the battels of the Lord*, used [a] *Rahabs* assistance, a Harlot of *Jericho*; for which service they shew'd favour to all her fathers house: And why then might not the Elect (when the Cause required it) receive aid from us, though children of the *Whore of Babylon*? Doubtless, in Conscience this advantage could not have been omitted by the Saints, since it might have been a means towards our Conversion, as *Cromwel* afterwards urged, when he so passionately stickled to bring in the *Jews*.

[a] Ioſh. 6. 22.

*My Lords and Gentlemen*, Thus stood our Case, and thus are we now reviled by a Minister, after such true and faithful Services: Yes, so Loyal have we been, that I defie all mankinde to shew one that was false, unless perchance those that renouncing their God, and shaking hands with Religion, were owned as Converts by the people. Nay, let any man read but the

Account

Account of the [a] *Pyrenæan Treaty*, printed by the *Dutch* and others, and there he shall see, that *Cromwel esteemed us the greatest of his enemies*: for so he told the Duke of *Crequi*, when he desired him (as a request of his Mistress the Queen Mother of *France*) to cease his notorious persecutions against us.

[a] Pyr. Tr. p. 4.

Certainly, nothing can more fully proue the sincere and disinterested meaning of the Catholiques, then the Kings miraculous Escape from *Worcester*: for he fell not there into the hands of men of Qualitie onely, but among Papists of all ranks and conditions. There were *Priests*, there were *Trades-men*, there were *Labourers*, there were *old women*, there were *young*, fully acquainted with his misery: and though at the same time death was proclaimed to the Concealer, and to the Discoverer a reward (able to make a poor man *Emperour* in his own thoughts) yet no danger, no gain could make them betray him, whom by their Faith they were commanded to conceal. Men of education and parts may sometimes have bydesignes, even in the best of their doings; but they of low degree

( being unacquainted with the artifices of the World ) declare the full reality of their hearts, having nothing lodged there, but the religious Principles, which from their youth they received from their Ghostly Father.

*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I must here conjure you not to put any forc'd interpretation upon my words: for I do not now Apologize for any Extravagancies done by our Predecessours in the beginning of the Reformation; onely let me beseech you to look on their Case at that time with the gentlest aspect that may be. Height of temptation may perchance move pitie in Magistrates, though not pervert their Justice: and let me desire him that will judge, to lay his hand on his owne brest, and truly examine there, what he himself would do in this condition. Suppose he were of a Religion which he thought the visible Church from age to age delivered, which he knew his ancestors to have happily lived under, and which he saw profest by all the Kingdoms about him: suppose then on a sudden, by the preaching of two or three men ( base in their

their rank, and taxt in Moralities one by another) a flame should break out through all *Europe*, and turn topſie-turvie this venerable Building, to make way for divers unlike Fabricks, every on of which, each Architect affirmed, was according to Gods own Word and Model. I ask him then in ſuch a devaſtation, (which, to uſe [a] *Camden*'s own phraſe, *The world ſtood amaz'd, and England groan'd at*) what would flesh and bloud move him to? 'Tis an Article of my Faith, that neither Hereſie nor Turciſm (becauſe *ill muſt not be done that good may come of it*) can be oppoſed by Rebellion; though many of the Reformed Divines are ([b] as I shal shew you) of another ſentiment. Yet even thoſe that do agree with me, will nevertheleſs confeſs, that (by reaſon of carnal paſſions) Grace muſt be predominant to reſiſt ſo ſtrong a torrent. Was it not ſtrange in the beginning, to behold [c] Abbies deſtroyed, Biſhopricks gelded, Chanteries, Hoſpitals and Colledges turned to profane uſes? Nay, (after a change of Liturgies and Rites) to ſee people renounce their pious Vows, and out of *Godlineſs* grow more *licentious*

[a] Cam. Brit. P. 163. B.

[b] Vid. Rep. 6.

[c] 645. Monaſteries, 110. Hoſpitals, 90. col. ledges, 2374. Chaunteries and free Chappels. L. *Herb. H.* 8. p. 443.

a Vid. Rep. 48, sect. 5.

b St H. 8. pag. 564. reg. 26.

*and looſe.* a These and the like unexpected alterations (*it being a pitiful thing* (as b *Stow* says) *to hear the lamentations in the Country for Religious houſes*) ſpurred men forward to reſiſt: for people ſaw the Conflagration, and none knew in what it would determine or end. But now, *Noble Country-men*, the Scene is quite altered: for now we know the full ſcope of your deſigne, now we are inured to the gentle Yoak of Proteſtant Kings, and now we are ſo incorporated by our long acquaintance and joynt ſufferings that all humane proneneſs to contend (which our Enemies called Principles of Faith) is wholly eradicated and taken away.

Having thus shew'd you that our Principles are not dangerous to Kings, that our actions have been zealous for Kings, and moreover that it is impoſſible we should again fall into thoſe miſdemeanours, into which natural frailtie and miſuſage drove the foregoing age: I will now, with your permiſſion, examine the Anſwer of our Miniſter to each particular *Paragraph*, and by it shall ſtill farther let you ſee, as well his pernicious ill nature, as his deteſt-

able

able Positions and Designes.

But, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, I shall beseech you, first throughly to peruse the Apologie it self, it being the ground of the whole Dispute: and because it hath been mangled by him into many imperfect Sections, I have thought fit to print it here entire, to the end you might run it over with the more ease; and that by the whole connexion and dependance (which mutilation spoils) you may the better consider the real integritie I had, in putting out that true and submissive Vindication.

TO

TO

# ALL THE ROYALLISTS

that suffered for

# HIS MAJESTY:

AND

To all the rest of the Good People of

*ENGLAND.*

## The Humble APOLOGIE of the *ENGLISH CATHOLICKS*

*My Lords and Gentlemen:*

THE Arms which Christians can use against Lawful Powers in their Severity, are only Prayers & Tears. Now since nothing can equal the infinity of those we have shed, but the Cause, viz. to see our dearest Friends forsake us; we hope it will not offend you, if (after

*ter we have a little wip'd our eyes) we ſigh out our Complaints to you.*

*We had ſpoken much ſooner, had we not been ſilent through conſternation to ſee you ſo enflam'd (whom with reverence we honour) and alſo to ſhew our ſubmiſſive patience, which uſed no ſlights or tricks to divert the debates of Parliament. For no body can imagine, where ſo many of the great Nobility and Gentry are concern'd; but ſomething might have been done; whenas in all ages we ſee things of Publick advantage by the managers dexterity nipt in the bud, even in the very Houſes themſelves. Far be it from Catholicks to perplex Parliaments, who have been the Founders of their Priviledges, and all Ancient Lawes. Nay,* Mâgna Charta *it ſelf had its riſe from us; which we do the leſs boaſt of, ſince it was not at firſt obtained in ſo ſubmiſs and humble manner.*

*We ſung our* Nunc dimittis, *when we ſaw our Maſter in his Throne, and you in your deſerved Authority and Rule: nor could any thing have ever grieved us more, then to have our Loyalty called into Queſtion by you, even at the inſtigation of our greateſt Adverſaries. If we muſt ſuffer, let it be by you alone:*

*for that's a double death to men of Honour, to have their Enemies not onely Accusers, but their insulting Judges also. These are they, that by beginning with us, murthered their Prince, and wounded you: And shall the same Method continue by your approbation? We are sure you mean well, though their designe be wicked. But let it never be recorded in Story, that you forgot your often Vows to us, in joyning with them that have been the cause of so great calamity to the Nation.*

*Of all Calumnies against Catholicks, we have admired at none so much, as that their Principles are said to be inconsistent with Government, and they themselves thought ever prone to Rebellion.*

My Lords and Gentlemen, *Had this been a new Sect not known before, something perchance might have been doubted: but to lay this at their doors, that have governed the Civilized World, is the Miracle of Miracles to us.*

*Did* Richard *the First, or* Edward Longshanks, *suspect his Catholicks that served in* Palestine, *and made our Countries Fame big in the Chronicle of all Ages? Or did they mistrust (in their dangerous absence) their Sub-*

*jects*

*jects at home, because they were of this Profession? Could* Edward *the Third imagine those to be Trayterous in their Doctrine, that had that care and duty for their Prince, as to make them (by Statute) guilty of death in the highest degree, that had the least thought of ill against the King? Be pleased that* Henry *the Fifth be remembred also, who did those Wonders of which the whole World does still resound; and certainly all History will agree in this, that 'twas* Old Castle *he feared, and not those that believed the Bishop of* Rome *to be Head of the Church. We will no longer trouble you with putting you in minde of any more of our mighty Kings, who have been feared abroad, and as safe at home as any since the Reformation of Religion. We shall onely adde this, that if Popery be the en slaving of Princes,* France *still believes it self as absolute as* Denmark *or* Sweden *: nor will ever the House of* Austria *abjure the Pope, to secure themselves of the fidelity of their Subiects. We shall always acknowledge to the whole World, that there have been as many brave* English *in this last Century, as in any other place whatsoever. Yet since the exclusion of the Catholick Faith, there has been that com-*

*mitted by those, who would be fain called Protestants, that the wickedest Papist never dreamt of. 'Twas never heard of before, that an absolute Queen was condemned by Subjects, and those stiled her Peers; or that a King was publickly tried and executed by his own people and servants.*

My Lords and Gentlemen, *We know who were the Authors of this last Abomination, and how generously you strove against the raging Torrent; nor have we any other ends to remember you of it, but to shew that all Religions may have a corrupted spawn, and that God hath been pleased to permit such a Rebellion which our progenitors never saw, to convince you perchance (whom for ever may he prosper) that Popery is not the only Source of Treason.*

*Little did we think (when your Prayers and ours were offered up to beg a Blessing on the Kings Affairs) ever to see that day, in which* Carlos, Gifford, Whitgrave, *and the* Pendrels *should be punished by your desires for that Religion, which obliged them to save their forlorn Prince; and a stigmatized man (for his offences against King and Church) a chief promoter of it. Nay, less did*

we

we imagine, that by your Votes Hudleſtone might be hanged, who again ſecured our Soveraign; and others free in their fat poſſeſſions, that ſat as Judges, and ſealed the Execution of that great Prince of happy Memory. We confeß, we are unfortunate, & you juſt Judges, whom with our lives we will ever maintain to be ſo; nor are we ignorant the neceſſity of affairs made the King and you do things, which formerly you could not ſo much as fancy: yet give us leave to ſay we are ſtill Loyal; nay, to deſire you to believe ſo, and to remember how ſynonymous (under the late Rebellion) was the word Papiſt and Cavalier; for there was no Papiſt that was not deemed a Caualier, nor no Caualier that was not call'd a Papiſt, or at leaſt thought to be Popiſhly affected.

We know, though we differ ſomething in Religion, (the truth of which let the laſt day judge) yet none can agree with your inclinations, or are fitter for your converſe then we; for as we have as much birth among us as England can boaſt of, ſo our breeding leans your way both in Court and Camp. And therefore had not our late Sufferings united us in that firm tie, yet our like humors muſt needs have joyned our hearts. If we erre, pity our con-

dition, and remember what your great Ancestors were; and make some difference between us that have twice converted England from Paganism, and those other Sects that can challenge nothing but intrusion for their imposed Authority.

But 't is generally said, That Papists cannot live without persecuting all other Religions within their reach.

We confess, where the name of Protestant is unknown, the Catholick Magistrates (believing it erronious) do use all endeavours to keep it out: Yet in those Countreys where Liberty is given, they have far more Priviledges then we under any Reformed Government whatsoever. To be short, we will only instance France for all, where they have publick Churches, where they can make what Proselytes they please, and where 't is not against Law to be in any Charge or Imployment. Now Holland, which permits every thing gives us 'tis true our Lives and Estates, but takes away alle Trust and Rule, and leaves us also in danger of the Scout, whensoever he pleases to molest our Meetings.

Because we have named France, the Massacre will perchance be urged against us.

But

But the World must know that was a Cabinet-Plot, condemned as wicked by Catholick Writers there, and of other Countries also. Besides, it cannot be thought they were murthered for being Protestants, since 'twas their powerful Rebellion (let their Faith have been what it would) that drew them into that illo machinated destruction.

May it not as well be said in the next Catholick Kings Reign, that the Duke of Guise, and Cardinal (Heads of the League) were killed for their Religion also? Now no body is ignorant, that 't was their factious Authority, which made that jealous Prince design their deaths, though by unwarrantable means.

If it were for Doctrine that the Hugonots suffered in France, this haughty Monarch would soon destroy them now, having neither Force nor Towns to resist his Might and Puissance. They yet live free enough, being even Members of Parliament; and may convert the Kings Brother too, if he thinks fit to be so. Thus you may see how well Protestants live in a Popish Country under a Popish King: Nor was Charlemaign more Catholick then this; for though he contends so-

metimes with the Pope, 'tis not of Faith, but about Gallicane Priviledges, which perchance he may very lawfully do. Judge then, Worthy Patriots, who are the best used, and consider our hardship here in England, where 'tis not only a Fine for hearing Maß, but death to the Master for having a Priest in his house; and so far we are from preferment, that by Law we cannot come within ten miles of London; all which we know your great Mercy will never permit you to exact.

It has been often urged, that our misdemeanours in Queen Elizabeths and King James's time, were the cause of our punishment.

We earnestly wish that the Party had had more patience under that Princeß: But pray consider (though we excuse not their faults) whether it was not a Question harder then that of York and Lancaster (the cause of a War of such length, and death of so many Princes) who had most right, Queen Elizabeth or Mary Stuart. For since the whole Kingdom had crowned and sworn Allegeance to Queen Mary, they owned her as the legitimate daughter to Henry the Eighth, and therefore 'twas thought necessarily to follow

follow by many, that if Mary was the true Child, Elizabeth was the Natural, which must needs give way to the thrice noble Queen of Scots. 'Twas for the Royal House of Scotland that they suffered in those days, and 'tis for the same illustrious Family we are ready to hazard all on any occasion. Nor can the consequence of the former procedure be but ill, if a Henry the Eighth (whom Sir W. Rawleigh and my Lord Cherbury, two famous Protestants, have so homely characterized) should after twenty years co-habitation, turn away his wife, and this out of scruple of Conscience (as he said) when as History declares, that he never spared woman in his lust, nor man his fury.

Now for the fifth of Novēber, with hāds lifted up to Heaven, we abominate and detest, and from the botto of our hearts, say, may they fall into irrecoverable perdition, who propagate that faith by the blood of Kings, which is to be planted in truth and meekneſs only. But let it not displeaſe (Men, Brethren, and Fathers) if we ask whether Ulyſſes be no better known? or who has forgot the Plots of Cromwel, framed in his Cloſet, not only to deſtroy many faithful Cavaliers; but alſo

to put a lustre upon his Intelligence, as if no thing could be done without his knowledge! Even so did the then great Minister, who drew some few ambitious, men into this conjuration, and then discovered it by a Miracle. This will easily appear, viz. how little the Catholique Party understood the design, seeing there were not a score of guilty found, though all imaginable industry was used by the Commons, Lords, and Privy Councel too. But suppose (my Lords and Gentlemen, which never can be granted) that all the Papists of that age were consenting, Will you be so severe then to still punish the Children for their Fathers faults? Nay, such Children that so unanimously joyned with you in that glorious Quarrel, wherein you and we underwent such sufferings, that needs we must have all sunk, had not our mutual love assisted.

What have we done, that we should now deserve your Anger? Has the Indiscretion of some few incensi you? 'Tis true, that is the thing Objected.

Do not you know an Enemy may easily mistake a Mass-Bell, for that which calls to Dinner; or a Sequestrator glad to be affronted being Constable? when 'twas the hatred to his

his perſon, and not preſent Office, which perchance egg'd a raſh man to folly. We dare with ſubmiſſion ſay, let a publick Invitation be put up againſt any Party whatſoever, nay, againſt the Reverend Biſhops themſelves, and ſome malicious Informer or other will alledge that which may be far better to conceal. Yet all mankind by a Manifeſto on the Houſe-door are encouraged to accuſe us; Nor are they upon Oath, though your Enemies and ours take all for granted and true.

It cannot be imagined, where there are ſo many men of heat and youth (overjoy'd with the happy Reſtauration of their Prince, and remembring the Inſolencies of the former Grandees) that they ſhould all, at all times prudently carry themſelves; for this would be more then men: And truly we eſteem it as a particular bleſſing, that God has not ſuffer'd many, through vanitie or frailty to fall into greater faults, then are yet as we underſtand laid to our charge.

Can we chuſe but be diſmay'd (when all things fail) that extravagant Crimes are fathered on us? It is we that muſt be the Authors, ſome ſay, of firing the Citie, even we that have loſt ſo vaſtly by it. Yet truly in this

our ingenuity is great, since we think it no Plot, though our Enemie, an Hugonot Protestant acknowledged the fact, and was justly executed for his vain Confession. Again, if a Merchant of the Church of England buy Knives for the busineß of his Trade, this also presently is a Popish contriuance to destroy the well-affected.

We must a little complain, finding it by experience, that by reason you discontenance us, the people rage; and again, because they rage, we are the more forsaken by you. Assured we are that our Conversation is affable, and our Houses so many hospitable receipts to our Neighbours. Our acquaintance therefore we fear at no time, but it is the stranger we dread (that taking all on hear say) zealously wounds, and then examines the busineß when 'tis too late, or is perchance confirmed by another, that knows no more of us then he himself.

'Tis to you we must make our applications, beseeching you (as Subjects tender of our King) to intercede for us in the execution, and weigh the Dilemma, which doubtleß he is in, either to deny so good a Parliament their requeß, or else run counter to his Royal inclinations, when he punishes the weak and harmleß.

Why

*Why may not* we, *Noble Country-men, hope for favour from you, as* well *as the* French *Proteſtants find from theirs? A greater duty then ours none could expreſs*, we *are ſure*. Or why *ſhould the* United Provinces, *and other Magiſtrates (that are* harſh *both in mind and manners) refrain from violence againſt our Religion, and your tender breaſts ſeem not to harbour the leaſt compaſſion or pity? Theſe neighboring people ſequeſtrer none for their Faith, but for tranſgreſſion againſt the State. Nor is the whole party involved in the crime of a few, but every man ſuffers for his own and proper fault. Do you then the like, and he that offends let him die* without *mercy, And think always (we beſeech you) of* Cromwels *injuſtice, who for the actions of ſome againſt his pretended Laws, drew thouſands into Decimation (even ignorant of the thing) after they had vaſtlie paid for their ſecuritie and quiet.*

*We have no ſtudie but the Glory of our Soveraign, and juſt libertie of the Subjects; nor was it a mean argument of our dutie,* when *every Catholique Lord gave his voice for the Reſtoration of Biſhops; by which we could pretend no other advantage, but that* 26. *Vo-*

*tes (subsisting wholly by the Crown) were added to the defence of Kingship, and consequently a check to all Anarchy and confusion.*

*'Tis morally impossible, but that we, who approve of Monarchy in the Church, must ever be fond of it in the State also. Yet this is a misfortune we now plainly feel, that the longer the late transgressors live, the more forgotten are their crimes, whilst distance in time calls the faults of our Fathers to remembrance, and buries our own Allegeance in eternal Oblivion and forgetfulness.*

My Lords and Gentlemen, *Consider we beseech you, the sad condition of the* Irish *Souldiers now in* England, *the worst of which Nation could be but intentionallie so wicked, as the acted villanie of many* English, *whom your admired Clemencie pardoned. Remember how they left the* Spanish *service when they heard their King was in* France; *and how they forsook the employment of that unnatural Prince, after he had committed that never to be forgotten act of banishing his distressed Kinsman out of his Dominions. These poor men left all again to bring their Monarch to his home, and shall they then be forgotten by You? Or, shall my Lord* Douglas

glas *and his brave* Scots *be left to their shifts, who ſcorn'd to receive Wages of thoſe that have declared War againſt* England?

*How commonly is it ſaid, That the* Oath *of renouncing their Religion is intended for theſe?* which *will needs bring this loſs to the King and you, that either you will force all of our Faith to lay down their Arms (though by experience, of great integrity and worth) or elſe, if ſome few you retain, they are ſuch whom Neceſſity has made to ſwear againſt Conſcience, and who therefore will certainly betray you, when a greater advantage ſhall be offered. By this teſt then, you can have none but whom with caution you ought to ſhun, and thus muſt you drive away thoſe that truly would ſerve you; for had they the leaſt thought of being falſe, they would gladly take the advantage of gain and pay, to deceive you.*

*We know your wiſdom and generoſity, and therefore cannot imagine ſuch a thing. Nor do we doubt when you ſhew favour to theſe, but you will uſe mercy to us, who are both fellow-Subjects, and your owen fleſh and blood alſo. If you forſake us, we muſt ſay, the world decays, and its final tranſmutation*

*muſt*

*must needs quickly follow.*

*Little do you think the insolencies we shall suffer by Committee-men*, &c. *whom chance and lot has put in to petty power. Nor will it chuse but grieve you, to see them abused (whom formerly you loved) even by the Common Energy of us both. When they punish, how will they triumph and say, Take this (poor* Romanists*) for your love to King ship; and again, this for your long dooting on the Royal Party; all which you shall receive from us, Commissioned by your dearest friends, and under this cloak we will gladly vent our private spleen and malice.*

*We know*, My Lords and Gentlemen, *that from your hearts you do deplore our condition; yet permit us to tell you, your bravery must extend thus far, as not to sit still with pity only, but each is to labour for the distressed, as far as in reality his ablity will reach; some must beseech our Gracious Soveraign for us, others must again undeceive the Good, though deluded Multitude. Therefore all are to remember who are the prime raisers of this Storm, and how through our sides they would wound both the KING and You; for though their hatred to our selves is great,*

*yet*

yet the enmity out of all measure encreases; because we have been yours (and so shall continue) even in the fiery day of trial.

Protect us we entreat you then upon all your former Promises, or if that be not sufficient, for the sakes of those that lost their Estates with you; many of which are now fallen a sleep. But if this be still too weak, we must conjure you by the sight of this Bloody Catalogue, which contains the Names of your murthered Friends and Relations, who in the heat of Battail, perchance saved many of your Lives, even with the joyful loss of their own.

The Catalogue of Names is at the end of the Book.

*A material Advertisement to the Reader, both concerning the Answerer of the* Apology, *and the Method of this Reply.*

READER,

ABout the middle of *Novem.* 1666. when the known Enemies of the Kingdom had enflamed the minds of several honest and well-meaning people, I put out this sincere Apology. The Reasons therein (having nothing but truth and reallity in them) satisfied many: for every body of themselves saw there was no ground, and most confest they were disordered because they saw others so. 'Twas after *Christmas* before I left *London*; and truly, I suppos'd that if any body could be so malitiously impertinent, as by an Answer to cavil at so innocent a thing, he would have done it in two moneths, it being but a sheet of Paper against which he was to write; and then (being neer at hand)

hand) I should have been as quick in my Reply. Though the worthy Answerer took much more time for his solid Piece, yet in the interval mine was egregiously confuted: Nor was ever *Gonvil*'s plain Testament so tore and repiec'd as this Pamphlet, by the wise and numerous Assailants. One said, that the whole thing was harmless and reasonable; but that *Magna Charta seemed to be struck at.* His fellow answered, that *Magna Charta* was *Magna Farta*, and of it self Popish; and that all was well, *had not Queen Elizabeth been abused.* To this a third answered, that Q. *Elizabeth* was now no more to them then *William Rufus*, and all that was said was out of Protestant History; but the only thing he blamed was, *that the fifth of Nov.* (which was still a Festival) *was defamed, and consequently they themselves jeer'd at in their Annual observation.* At him another presently laugh'd, and askt, whether any people ever reverenc'd a Solemnity against themselves: for his own part, he cared not whether the Papists were guilty or not, let them look to that; therefore he was sufficiently satisfied with the

Apology, *had the Catalogue been omitted of those that died in the War*: for by it, it seemed, as if the whole Royal Army were Papists, because so many Popish Officers, and men of great Condition, were killed in that Service. To this a Neighbour said, that he knew many more of the Party, then were mentioned, that thus fell for their Allegiance; and that it was hard, that so cheap recompence should be denied men for their lives; but the sole thing which he stumbled at, *was the timing & publication of it*. Against whom the whole Company concluded, *that if ever the time was fit*, 'twas *then when the flame appeared*, *and that't would have been ridiculous to Apologize*, *when there was no stir or clamour*. Thus have I been vindicated by my Reprehenders, and thus have I both read and seen in matters of Religion, where the several Antagonists have solved the Popish difficulties themselves.

After *Christmas*, Reader (as I said before) I not only went out of Town, but have ever since been many score of miles distant from it, which is the cause I saw not this Answer so soon as otherwise I should have done

done; at last it was sent me by a Protestant Gentleman who had seen the Apology before it was printed. When I had read it, I began to admire, not only at the malice of the thing, but also at the weakness of the man, that thus needlessly took up the Cudgels. Who the Author is, to this day I know not; nor can any man desire his Acquaintance, unless it be to say, they have seen the Eighth Wise man. I do not say, that he may not be a man of Wit; but nevertheless, I am sure, he is neither of Judgment nor Principles.

For had he been a Royallist, he would have had more Gratitude, and good Nature, then to have forgotten faithful friends in a storm, and added (as he hoped) fuel to the flame, when we were underhand bespattred by Enemies to us both. Nor was there any drift in the Apology, but to settle a Distemper, raised without either cause or reason.

A Presbyterian I can never think him, because they being men of depth and prudence, know that the effects of their crying against Papists in 1640. are too fresh in memory; nor can it be an advan-

tage for them to haraſs mens Conſciences, while their own are within reach of Law.

I can alſo as little fancy that an Independant, or any real member of that many-headed and uncompacted Body, could ſoberly by writing wish a Perſecution for Religion, being them ſelves obnoxious upon all accounts; and if ſeverity should univerſally fall, they cannot imagine but that men of Birth, men of Breeding, men of Loyalty, muſt needs at all times find more friends then they. Who he is, God knows, a man of Principles (as I ſaid) I am ſure he is not, nor do I doubt but his officiouſneſs will at laſt find its reward: and ſince he has called me *Turk*, and worſe, as you shall ſee by and by, I ſuppoſe he will not take it amiſs, if I ſpeak my thoughts, *viz.* that though he carps in a Miniſters Dialect, yet doubtleſs he is a *Jew* of the Dukes Place.

*Reader*, When I received this Anſwer, both by my Letters and Friends neer me, I was perſwaded not to reply, becauſe it had no force in it ſelf, nor had any applauſe at *London*. I could not upon this information but aſſent; but now lately I have been

been awak'd by a new occasion. I had some days ago sent me a Pamphlet, called, *A Discourse of the Religion of England*; a simpler thing was never yet writ, I am sure; and take this for a proof, for he says among many hundred of his silly things, that *Holland*, *Scotland* and *Geneva* brought in the Reformed Religion without Rebellion. He has been well whipt by a Protestant, but deserves much more. For *Scroop* was excepted out of the Act of Oblivion, and hanged; for excusing to Sir *Richard Brown* after mercy, instead of being contrite for his crime: yet this man that owns himself a Presbyterian (which I believe as much as that my Minister was a Cavalier) says, The *Non-conformists were only eager Asserters of Legal Liberties.* Seven Chapters of his Treatise are against Papists, and all taken out of the *Answerer of the Apology*: therefore since I find it hath weight in the opinion of one, lest more weak Brethren should fall, I thought fit to take some pains thus to remove the cause. c. 18. p. 40.

I was forced to go the insipid way of Section by Section, well knowing that

some

some people not finding the Solution to follow the Objection, would sooner hæsitate and doubt Insipid; I call this Method, because there is no art or contrivance in it; nor is it possible but the best Reply in the World must be then frigidly stiff, when the Adversary in the Paragraph has no Spirit in him. I have not Printed the Answer verbatim, for that would be too tedious, but have so contracted it, that I challenge the Author himself to find any thing left out, that might have added force to the Argument. The Books I use in Citations are all Protestant, except *Davila*, impartial, as the reformed confess: for though he is acknowledged to be a Creature and adorer of *Katherine de Medices*, yet concerning her he speaks home, even in many private intrigues, which might have been well omitted. Him only I quote about the *Hugonots* Rebellion; but their actions are so villanously notorious, that any Author shall be sufficient for that purpose.

I must needs say, I have had no little trouble in this Composition, fearing the Bulk would be voluminous; for by Nature

ture I hate superfluities and always strive to crowd my matter into the narrowest room imaginable. In this Work I had still the disgustful vexation, how to omit, and yet be still intelligible: For I dare affirm, had I writ all I could upon this Subject, and followed to the utmost the disingenious digressions of the Answerer, I should have swell'd to the bigness of any Folio extant. I have nevertheless past by nothing material; and hope this thin Octavo will be both useful and satisfactory to you, since it contains *the whole accusation in practice, charged upon the English Catholicks*; I have urged nothing (as I said before) but what I prove out of the Record of a violent *Protestant*, or a natural deduction from it: and that you may upon occasion find each particular matter, here follow the Contents themselves in order.

1. *Whether Papists were necessitated farther then in Duty to fight for their Sovereign.* Pref.

2. *Concerning stirs by Papists in the beginning of the Reformation.* Pref.

3. Concerning the Irish Rebellion Rep.

4. Mr. Du Moleus Canonicall french integrity in his allegations against Papists. Rep. 3. He is endanger'd by his owne haste. Rep. 3.

5. Whether Papists die in England for their Conscience or for Treason? Rep. 4.

6. About the Oath of Allegeance and dispensing with Vows. Rep. 5.

7. Whether their Generall Councils, Decretals and Divines teach Papists Rebellion and deposing Kings? And in the Theory and Practise, whether Papists or Protestants have been most in fault. Rep. 6.

8. Whither Papists govern'd the civiliz'd world? And of theire Ignorance. Rep. 7.

9. Whether Protestant Princes are more absolute then the Popish? Pref. and Rep. 9. 10.

10. About Q. Maries Persecution, and whether she or the Reformed Government, spilt most Blood for Religion? Rep. 11.

11. Whither Papists caus'd the war in the three Kingdoines? Rep. 13.

12. Whether Papists were conmivers in the late Troubles. Rep. 15.

13. Whether Papists twice converted England

England *from Paganism?* Rep. 16.

14. *Whether Popish or Protestant Governments are kinder to their dissenting Subjects?* Rep. 17. Postscript.

15. *Concerning the* French Massacre Rep. 18. 19. 20.

16. *The Popish misdemeanors in* Q. Elizabeths *Reign, and their then Plea.* Rep. 22.

17 *How Protestants have used their Popish Princes here in England.* Rep. 22.

18. *About the* Powder-Treason. Rep. 28.

19. *About* Hubert *the* Frenchman, *who was hang'd for burning* London. Rep. 35.

20. *Concerning the Catalogue of the Papists that died for their King, and of the Protestants also that died in that bed of Honour.* Rep. 48.

21. *Of the Papist's that leave their Religion, & why?* Rep. 48. Sect. 5.

Many other things of note are here handled in several places.

## The Printer to the Reader.

*I Had directions to add Figures to the Apology (here before Printed intire) which might correspond to each Answer, to the end you might know what the Answerer strives to confute. But because this would be no little trouble to you, to turn and return in the reading of the Book, I have therefore reprinted the Apology, dividing it into several Sections corresponding both with the Answer and Reply. This will be, I am sure, of no little convenience to you: and so farewel.*

THe Title which the Minister has prefixt to his Book, is *The late Apology in behalf of the Papists reprinted, and answered in behalf of the Royallists.* Now, I beseech you, *Reader* (having read the Apology through) what injury has any good man done him by it? But besides, how extravagant is that beginning? for to write against Papists in Vindication of the Royallists

Royallists, is like the *defending of King* Charles, *by the opposing of* Charles Stuart. Did not the Protestants and Catholicks make up one Body, *viz.* the Royal Party? I am sure, they that distinguish them at present, hated both formerly, and would willingly divide them now, in hopes to weaken the King, and put the whole Kingdom in new confusions. He therefore that thus impertinently begins with wicked intentions, can never without doubt end either well or wisely.

## SECT. 1. APOLOGY.

The Arms which Christians can use against Lawful Powers in their Severity, are onely Prayers and Tears. Now since nothing can equal the infinity of those we have shed, but the Cause, *viz.* To see our deareſt Friends forsake us; we hope it will not offend you, if (after we have a little wip'd our eyes) we sigh out our Complaints to you.

## I. ANSWER.

*The minister directs his Answer to the Au-*

*thor of the Apology, and says thus to the foregoing words: That in the Conspiracy of* Babington *against* Q. Elizabeth, *such a Declaration was made about Prayers and Tears: that the expression* infinity of tears *is in it self improper, and the sence more applicable to* Q. Maries *days, the* Irish *Rebellion, or our own fabulous Purgatory. But we Iesuites, whether ranting, or whining, cannot speak like other men.*

## REPLY I.

Is not this great malice, to make a parity between them who considered Q. *Elizabeth* as an Usurper, and us that (in words and sufferings) acknowledge no Prince had ever a more unquestionable Title then ours? To this I need not say more, having in the latter end of the Preface shewed, that time and accidents have quite altered the Scene, and doubtless our obedience to the Government is now apparently so great, that tis as probable the *Heptarchy* may be revived, or the *Welsh* rebel (which were high folly to imagine) as that disorders or tumults can be again occasioned by the Catholiques.

Concerning

Concerning the *Irish* Rebellion, I never so much as once mentioned it in the *Apology*, believing there could not be found a man so inhumane, that would charge a thing upon us, which for 26 years together we were all acknowledged to be clear of, though the late Enemies of the Kingdom had made strict inquisition about it; and every body knows they wanted not will (had there been probability) to make us Partizans in all detestable and odious contrivances. 'Twas evident the English Catholicks abhorred it, that several fought against the Rebels, that we all decried their proceedings; nor did I ever hear any of our Party in the least excuse the fact, though to my knowledge *Protestants have often done it.*

My Lord *Macquire* (who being a prime Actor, knew the whole Conspiracy) at his Execution at *Tyburn* was conjured as a dying man to declare if the English Papists had any knoweldge or hand in the Design: *'He took it on his death, that not a man in* England *knew of it but one, and he was an* Irishman, *and a Protestant also.*

But who is ignorant (unless wilfully opinionated

[a] *Vid.* His last Speech, &c. and Printed by Authority 1644.

opinionated) that that which produc'd this wickedness, was both a National animosity, and a particular hatred of the Conquered to the Conqueror? Nor would less have been done, had any English Catholique King been their Governour. Religion is no tie between Nations when great hatreds arise, or great advantages for freedom (as they term it) offer themselves, as we experimentally find by the *Sicilian Vespers* abroad, and at home by the *Irish Massacre* in one night *of the*, *Danes by the English*! The Protestant *Irishman* you see also was so willing to have the *English* out of *Ireland*; that he never discovered the Plot, though he knew what was intended against his own Religion.

a Cib. Bib. p. 143.

For his Criticism about the word *insinuate*, 'tis as ridiculous as his poor quibble about Purgatory; and for Queen *Maries* days, I shal by and by speak of them at large in a more proper place.

b Rep. 11

## SECT. 2. APOLOGY.

We had spoken much sooner, had we not been silent through consternation to

you ſo inflam'd ( whom with reverence we Honour ) and alſo to shew our ſubmiſſive patience, which uſed no ſlights or tricks to divert the debates of Parliament. For no body can imagine, where ſo many of the great Nobility and Gentry are concern'd, but ſome thing might have been done; when as in all ages we ſee things of Publick advantage by the managers dexterity nipt in the bud, even in the very Houſes themſelves. Far be it from Catholicks to perplex Parliaments, who have been the Founders of their Priviledges, and all Antient Laws. Nay, *Magna Charta* it ſelf had its riſe from us; Which we do the leſs boaſt of, ſince it was not at firſt obtained in ſo ſubmiſs and humble a manner.

## ANSWER II.

*That men of the Popish Religion were the Founders of our good Laws and Priviledges of Parliament, the Miniſter cannot allow: for thoſe of our Anceſtors that ſtood for the Nation were, he ſays, of his Religion, as much as ours; but thoſe particularly ours, that ſided with the Pope.*

## REPLY. II.

Judge whether this man be not mad
then *Fox*; for *Fox* never thought any fit
*Kalendar-Saints* and *Martyrs*, but tho
that denied Popery; as [a] *Roger Only*, al
*Bullingbroke*, whom *Fox* hath *Canonize*
though condemned (as *Stow* says) to d
for [b] *Necromancy*. Sir *Roger Acton* also ha
ged for [d] *Rebellion*; and many score of th
like Gang. Now the Minister by his A
gument will have Protestant all the Parli
ments that made *Magna Charta* and ou
other Priviledges, all people that acknow
ledged them, and all Officers that fro
time to time have executed these ancie
Laws: Yet these transactions were in th
darkest times of Popery; nor did the *Wa
denses*, *Albigenses*, *Wickliffians*, *Lollards*
&c. look on the Government then as Pro
testant, as you may see in Mr. *Fox* h
*voluminous Story*. And since I have name
*this famous Author*, who is call'd *a som
new writer* in the much celebrated *Practi
of piety*, in the eight reason for the morality
of the Sabbath; Mr. Heylin also rank
him as the prime modern *Ecclesiastical*
*Write*

[a] Fox Feb. 12.

[b] Stow Hen. 6. p. 627. 628.

[c] Fox Jan. 7.

[d] Stow H. 5 p. 561.

[d] Heyl. Geog. p. 20.

*Writer.* I say since I have nam'd this once famous Mr Fox. I cannot but condole his misfortune, that instead of having his Book in Churches as formerly it was wont, 'tis now thought fit onely to cramp sleepers, according to Mrs. *Abigails Practice.* And truly a like fate attends all the first Champions of Reformation; for in tract of time their Principles being found by theyr followers impossible to be maintained, new ones (sometimes opposite to the former) are therefore invented, which hereafter will also fail as the others did before them.

## SECT. III. APOLOGY.

We sung our *Nunc Dimittis*, when we saw our Master in his Throne, and you in your deserved Authority and Rule.

## ANSWER III.

*If we sang our* Dimittis *at the present Kings return, he says some of us rejoyc'd, and sang an* Exultemus *at the beheading of the former.*

## REPLY. III.

Who would now think that a man could be so abominable as to lay such a

thing to our charge without any proof at all? *Reader*, this Godly Minister has done it, and that he might show his utmost malice, he cites only in the Margent the *Answerer of Philanax*, as if we were undoubtedly found guilty of the fact. But because my Minister durst not for shame set dowd *Du Moulins words*, I will here present you with his Accusation *verbatim*, nor will Christ himself be innocent, if such evidence as this be sufficient.

* Du Moulins words in answ. to Phil. P. 58.

** When the business of the late bad times are once ripe for an History, and time the bringer forth of truth hath discovered the mysteries of Iniquity, and the depths of Satan which have wrought so much crime and mischief, it will be found that the late Rebellion was raised and fostered by the arts of the Court of Rome. That* Jesuits *professt themselves* Independents, *as not depending on the Church of* England; *and* Fifth-Monarchy-men, *that they might pull down the* English *Monarchy; and that in the Committees, for the King and Church, they had their Spies and their Agents. The* Roman *Priest and Confessour known, who when he saw the fatal stroke given to our Holy King and Martyr, flourish-*

*his*

*had with his Sword and said, Now the greatest Enemy we have in the World is gone.*

Now, *Reader*, let me ask you when will the buſineſs of our times be ripe for Hiſtory? or what diſcoveries can there be made againſt us, if in ſix and twenty years after the beginning of the War, if in twenty years after the end of it, and perpetration of that moſt accurſed Murther, we have not only been owned as Loyal Subjects, but ſtill embrac'd by the Proteſtant Cavaliers as true Partizans with them in all their glorious Sufferings? I am ſure the Preſs was free both in the *Rumps* and *Olivers* Tyranny; and if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe thoſe times had been unſeaſonable, why have not the grave Hiſtorians ſince the Kings reſtauration made our late perfidiouſneſs appear? I am ſure Proteſtants both Lay and Clergy, for their Treaſon in his Majeſties abſence have been convicted ſince his return, when as no Papiſt could ever yet be ſuſpected for the leaſt defection from our Soveraing. Can this man think himſelf *Canon of Canterbury*) and dare ſay, that the Prieſt is known who flourisht his Sword at the fatal ſtroke,

a Bates Elenc. mot. p.

when as no body knows him, no not he himself? Doubtless he means some *Hugonot* Minister: for what Cavalier was ever in *France*, and knows not how those Saints adored *Cromwel*? hating from the beginning to the end both our King and his Party. Let the World judge of this Story concerning this nameless Priest, by him whom he names, *viz.* Mr. *White* whose Book of *Obedience* and *Government* he lays as a blot on all of our Religion; when as this Mr. *White* has not only been sharply used by the Catholicks of *England*, but he and this very Book were openly condemned by the *Pope* himself; nor durst he since shew his head in any *Catholique Countrey*. Thus may be seen the Conscience of this *Monsieur* who would charge us with a crime, which at the writing he knew was false; & from this son of Darkness has my *Minister* and others owned to have received their light; and what kind of light it is, pray be pleased farther to observe.

a *Anso. Phil. p. 41.*

b *Anso. Phil. p. 39.*

He tells us, b *That a year before the Kings death a select Company of English Jesuits were sent from their whole Party to consult with the Faculty of* Sorbon ( who you must know

know Reader, are the greatest Catholick Enemies the Society has in *France*) *whether they might lawfully make away the King. The Doctors answered affirmavely to the Question, being then stated in writing; but afterwards when the Pope saw that the Kings Murther was decried by every body, he commanded tha Jesuits to burn all the Papers about the Question; but one of them was shewed by a Papist to a Protestant.* Yet for all this secrecy commanded by the Pope, *Du Moulin* tells us (p. 58.) *that at* Roan *many Jesuited persons told a Protestant openly on the news of the Kings death, That they having often admonished the King from time to time to remember his promise at Marriage of becoming a Papist, were forc'd to take these courses for his destruction.*

After this History, he says (*p.* 61.) *That the Friers at* Dunkirk) and by the way, there was never in that Town a House of *English*, *Scotch*, or *Irish* Friers) *told a Protestant Gentleman, that had a mind to pump them, That the Jesuits would fain engross the Honour of the Kings death to themselves; but the truth was, they had laboured as effectually as the Jesuits to compass it.* Then he

tells

tells, (*pag.* 60.) *That thirty Jesuits met* Diep *met a stranger* (a Protestant Gentleman) *on the Road and told him that they were going into* England *to be Agitators in the Independent Army.*

Good Protestant Reader, I am quite tired with this senceless stuff; and if you think it false, consider *what a jewel you have got from* France; but if you can deem it true, let me entreat you her eafter never to fear *Jesuite or Priest*; for I am sure such prating fools can never do you harm. Besides, I wonder how it came to pass that *all the Great Cavaliers* caresi't the *Jesuits*, and always employ'd them in much business during the Kings exile; neither were they then, or the rest of the Popish Priests, less welcome *to the Royallists of* England. But pardon me, I beseech you Reader, if I use so many words about a matter that deserves so little; yet I cannot but confess, I am engaged to the *Frenche Divine* for being so notoriously malitious and foolish: nor did I ever think that *Sir Walters discovery of the Plot in* 1641. *of blowing up the Thames to drown the City*, could ever be parallell'd; but here I now find it outdone.

such

Have we not seen, Good Reader, that such ridiculous Stories as these have lately ruined the Kingdom? and can any man believe if they once come in fashion again, they will end with Papists? No doubtless, for both Church and Court will soon find the smart, as by experience we begin to feel.

For my own part, I should never have taken notice of *Sieur du Moulin* or his Book, had not my Minister owned him, as I said, for *his informer*, and now I see he has imitated him also in his method; for my worthy Answerer calls me a *Jesuite*, and so the Dr. does *Philanax*, though I am confident he knows him to be a *Lay-man*, *and a married man also*. But now, Reader, it will not be amiss to tell you why this Mr. *du Moulin* is so angry with the *Jesuites*.

You must know, that *Petra Sancta* (a famous Writer in the Society) [a] taxes the Drs Father for jugling, *viz.* for being in *France* a *Presbyterian*, and in *England Episcopal*, and so complying for gain with those Ceremonies which his *Calvinistical* Brethren abominated as superstitious.

[a] Calvinianus verbo p. 42.

This old *du Moulin* (*his reverend father*;

[a] *Answ. to Philanax, pag. 38.*

*as the Dr. calls him*) writ a *Letter* for sooth, as his son says, to the Rebels at *Rochel*, *to exhort them to obey the King in breaking up their Assembly*, which was then hatching the Rebellion that presently after broke out; and yet (though it has been lickt and amended, I doubt not, by the Doctor) you may find, [b] *That a ground of his perswasion was, because they were not strong enough to resist the King.* and besides, the Reverend Divine in that perswasion to Loyalty, concludes, [c] *Notwithstanding all he had said, they ought to look after their safety; for 'twas unreasonable for them to separate their Assembly with the peril of their persons.* Of the same Loyal judgment also I find the Dr. himself; for after all his raylling against *Jesuites for Sedition*, he confesses the Term was expired of the grant of the strong Places to the *Hugonots*; Nevertheless, he says, they seem to [d] *be justified for keeping those Towns, by the reason of the first Grant, which was to preserve them from their bitter Enemies.*

[b] Ib. p. 41.

[c] Ib. p. 44.

[d] Ib. p. 37.

This was the Doctrine, you see, of this worthy Divine, who also vindicated the actions of the Reformed in *Geneva*, *Holland*

*land*, *Germany*, &c. and therefore I wonder not at his aſperſing us for our ſervice to our King and Country. 'Tis not my buſineſs to run over all his Book in order, having *one of his Diſciples* already to deal with; but this I muſt tell him and the reſt of his Tribe, *That ſince they ſteal one from the other*, none of their Fopperies ſhall go unanſwered: and this they may find in ſome part or other of the preſent treatiſe.

## SECT. V. APOLOGY.

Nor could any thing have ever grieved us more, then to have our Loyalty called into Queſtion by you, even at the inſtigation of our greateſt Adverſaries. If we muſt ſuffer, let it be by you alone; for that's a double death to men of Honour, to have their Enemies not only accuſers, but for their inſulting Judges alſo.

## ANSWER IV.

*His Objection here is, Men of Honour have no cauſe to fear either ſingle or double Deaths; and that Catholicks were never put to death in* England *for Religion, but for Treaſon.*

## REPLY IV.

Is not this pretty, that no body died in *England* for Religion, but for Treason; and yet many hundred of Priests have been executed for no other crime, *but being Priests*. Nay, Lay-men have been hanged for being converted, and others for letting a Priest say Mass in their houses; when as to hear Mass on Festivals every Catholique is in Conscience obliged, if he can. Besides, have not many Catholiques also suffered for *believing the Pope to be Head of the Church*? By this Argument then, if the Parliament should make it Treason (as who knows but they may?) *to hold Episcopal Ordination only valid, or that the King cannot give Orders*; it might then be as well said, that they (that are executed in pursuance of that Law) died for *Treason*, and not for their *Religion*.

But lest the Minister (that has the boldness in almost every *Paragraph* to deny apparently known things) might to deceive his Acquaintance still say, I have not proved what I assert: Not to trouble my *Reader* with many citations, take this one example

example out of [a] *John Stow*, that downright & plain Historian. He tells us, That fourteen Papists were at a clap executed; six only *for being made Priests beyond Sea, and remaining here*; *four Lay-men* only *for being reconciled*; *and four more*, only *for abetting or relieving the others*. Now if that be sufficient for the justice of the procedure, to say there are Laws to this purpose enacted, then most certain it is, *that the Primitive Christians were all Traytors*, being banisht by the lawful Magistrate from several places where they taught, and knowing also many particular Injunctions against their Preaching and seducing the Emperors Subjects, as *the Ethnicks were pleased to call it*. Nay, the Great St. *Alban* our famous *Proto-Martyr* was executed (as may be seen in the *Martyrology*) for being (contrary to *Diocletians* Laws) converted to the Faith, and abetting or entertaining in his House the *Priest Amphibalus*, which Priest was his *Spiritual Instructor*, according to Mr. *Cambden* in his famous Treatise [b] of *Brittain*.

[a] Q. El. P. 1259.

[b] p. 413.

## SECT. IV. APOLOGY.

"These are they that by beginning wit
us, Murthered their Prince, and wounde
you: And shall the same method contin
by your approbation? We are sure yo
mean well, though their Design be w
ked. But let it never be recorded in Story
that you forgot your often Vows
in joyning with them that have been th
cause of so great calamity to the Nation.

## ANSWER V.

*He urges, that by saying the Kings Mur-therers began with us Catholicks, we take liberty of bestowing Characters on whom we please; so that no body must act against us, lest they be thought to continue the Method of the Kings Murtherers. For Vows, he says, we Catholicks are more sure of those of Protestants to us, then they of ours to them, because they want a Pope to dispence with them.*

## REPLY V.

Pray, *Reader*, upon mature considera-

tion

not tell me now, whether they were not the Kings Murtherers that pursued Papists in the beginning of the War? Their design afterward, I am sure plainly appeared; and pray God those were not of the same Tribe, who first promoted our late troubles. Let me ask also, whether you find not us at home and abroad as strict to our promises as any other you converse with.

But since this Minister upbraids us with our dispensing with Vows, be pleased to consider who has been most busy, the *Romish* or *Protestant Pope* herein. The Papists have from the beninning refused the Oath of Allegeance as 'tis now worded, but the Reformed took it in all the degrees of preferment, *viz.* when graduated in the Universities, when admitted into Orders, when Justices of Peace, when Parliament-men; and in short, when any Dignity either in Church or State is conferred. Yet for all the often repetition of it, half the Kingdom were in Rebellion against the King, even *directly contrary to what they had sworn.* Now on the other side, there was no Papist *that declared not for the*

*King*,

*King*, though all the Party (as I said) refused the Oath, and for this refusal severely suffered both in their Estates and Persons. Besides, if it were a Doctrine among us (as the Protestants state it) *that the Pope can when he pleases absolve us from our Oaths*, why should we then (do you think) refuse the taking of this? Doubtless a Dispensation (if it could be granted) might be procured at less charge then two thirds of our Estates, omitting all corporal punishments. Oaths by our Tenets are not in themselves unlawful, nor can it be out of want of zeal for our Prince that we refuse them; since 'tis plain, that we all, like one man, stood by him in his great affliction and misery.

You must know, *Reader*, this Oath was framed by one *Perkins an Apostate Jesuite*, who knowing what we could take, and what not, purposely mingled certain truths with uncertain speculative points, to make us fall within the Law of refusal. I would be tedious to shew all the real exceptions we have to it, nor do any of them truly relate to our obedience to the King; for as to the Allegeance, I would be bound

to

to word an Oath, which no Papist shall scruple at, and yet it shall be more strong then this. But, *Reader*, to give you my opinion of Oaths (though nevertheless I am not for taking away that laudable Custome of swearing Subjects) I think them really useless, where without them (as in Allegeance) we are naturally bound: for honest men will be punctual in duty, though they never swore; when as the wicked can at no time be obliged, let the Bond be never so Sacred.

## SECT. 6. APOLOGY.

Of all Calumnies against Catholicks, we have admired at none so much, as that their Principles are said to be inconsistent with Government, and they themselves thought ever prone to Rebellion.

## ANSWER VI.

*On this short* Paragraph *he makes a wonderful long Discourse, saying, That 'tis a* Calumny *of ours to call that* a Calumny, *which is true: for first, our* Councels; *secondly, our* Decretals; *thirdly, our* Divines *teach, that the Pope has Power to depose Kings, and to discharge Subjects of their Allegeance, which*

*Doctrines are inconsistent with Government. But every Papist is bound to believe their Councels, Decretals, and Divines*: Ergo, *they may well be thought prone to Rebellion.*

## REPLY. 6.

To answer to these things perspicuously, I shall treat of them singly.

*Object.* 1. That our General Councels decree this; he proves by the *Lateran* Councel under *Innocent* the III. which expresly ordains, he says, *That in case any Prince be a favourer of Heretieks, after admonition given, the Pope shall discharge his Subjects from their Allegeance, and shall give away the Kingdome to some Catholique, that may root out these Heretiques.*

I grant that the sense of the words is in the Councel, and that in determination of Faith *Councels are infallible.* But as for other matters, we say not, that Councels are infallible in every point, even in matter of Fact. Besides, Councel's ordinations are to be taken according to the prudent meaning of the Legislators, and oftentimes beare another sense then the bare words taken as they lie, and weighed out

of due circumſtances ſeeme to ſignifie. Nor will this ſeem ſtrange to an *English Univerſity man*, ſince they grant, that in ſome matters God is not pleas'd that the *Scripture* it ſelf ſhould in it's obvious ſenſe be taken *as infallible*, for no body will there ſay, that all the *Philoſophy* in the Bible is unqueſtionable, or that the *Mathematicks* of it is to a Tittle juſt. The *Molten Sea* is deſcribed to *be* [a] *ten Cubits* (in diameter) *from brim to brim*, and *that it was round*, and *that a line of thirty cubits did compaſs it*. Now who is it (having read leſs then the firſt ſix Books of *Euclid*) but can demonſtrate that this is not altogether exact? The Blood is not now thought by their learn'd Phyſitians *to be the* [b] *life of a Creature* but the Vehicle. Nor do their Aſtronomers believe that the *Stars* are leſs then the *Sun* or *Moon*, though in *Geneſis they are called the two* [c] *great Lights*. The ſolution to theſe Objections is eaſie, and in every *Sophiſters* mouth, *viz.* that the Holy Pen-men writ of ſuch matters, either briefly (as that meaſure of a Circle is to this day ordinarily expreſs'd) or elſe according to the Hypotheſis or Opinion then aſſen-

[a] 1. K. 7. 23.

[b] Levit. 17. 14.

[c] Gen. 1. 16.

ted to by the World. But where this Sacred *Word* speaks to us doctrinally, 'tis to be believed on pain of Damnation: so *Councel* when it determines of faith, we are to reverence those determinations as coming from the Holy Ghost.

Nevertheless it's other Constitutions, being but humain lawes, are changeable, and oftentimes admit several exceptions; nor doe they alwais bring with them such an inevitable obligation, that there is not possible way to avoid it's bond. For Promulgation &c must precede. This plainely appeares by the Councel of Trent, to the doctrine whereof all Catholiques whatsoever submit though the rest of it's Decrees bind not in France, no in any place els, where they are yet unreceived.

But the case now in controversie needs not all this: for I suppose the Minister will not deny, but that the Emperors of the *East* and *West*, the Kings of *England*, *France*, *Hungary*, *Jerusalem*, *Cyprus*, *Arragon*, &c. *may agree together* (if they please) *to purge their Kingdoms of Heresie, and upon failure, that the Church shall give their Dominions to another that will perform the compact.*

These

These Princes, *Reader*, that I have named were *present* (by their Embassadors) *at this Councel* and what was there done, was by their consent, the *Albigensian Heresie* beginning then to be somewhat numerous. Nor did those Monarchs thinke themselves in a worse condition for this Ordination. Moreover we never heard that any Catholique King since ever did Protest, or exclaim against the Councel; which doubtless they would have done, had they been in any dangerby it. On the cõtrary we know, that *Mariana* (as the Minister confesses) *was condemned, for barely inclining to the opinion of thos deposing Kings*; which judgmẽt could not have pass'd against him, had this been by any Councel adjudged an Article of Faith. 'Twere a mortal sin in me, and I should presently incur all Ecclesiastical censure, if I did deny *Transubstantiation*, by reason it is an Article of Faith, and so declared by this very *Lateran* Councel: but as for the absolute powre of deposing Kings, it is held by severall as a meere opiniõ, and opposed by many as fals, nor wil Divines say, they are the worse Catholicks for it. Certaly it were not unlawful,

a Mat. Paris p. 262. If there had been any Protestants in those days, I would not have cited this Author.

if the Princes and States (that own themselves Christians) should now in an Assembly agree (by reason they saw *Judaism* or *Turcism* encreasing) that every one of them must do what he could to hinder this growth, and in case any was found favouring it, his Dominions should be given to another. This, I say, without doubt is lawful; and though it were not made to bind our Posterity, yet it might be hoped that the zeal of so sacred an Assembly would make Governours hereafter diligent to weed out all Infidelity.

What therefore was here ordered, was to oblige the Kings, who by compact acknowledg'd the procedure; and 'twas also imagined, that succeeding Catholique Princes would be more careful to keep their people from error, when they should call to mind that this was agreed to *in a Councel where the East and West met*, (*a for the Patriarch's of Constantinople and Hierusalem were present, Antioch and Alexandria sent deputies*) *and which consisted of 77. Primates, 412. Bishops, and above* 800. *Abbots and Priors*; besides the Embassadors of so many Monarchs; all which put together

a Matt. Paris p. 262.

gether, makes this to be the greateſt Councel that ever was. Much more could I ſay concerning this Councel, and many other conſiderations (for brevities ſake) I am forced to paſs by.

But Pray, *Reader*, before I end, let me mind you of this, That the Popes never give away (as men call it) a Kingdom from a Prince ſimply *Heretical*, but from one that is *an Apoſtate, and ſo revolted from the Church.* For we ſee that *Hen.* 8. was condemned, yet nothing was done to his Son *Edw.* 6. And again, though Queen *Elizabeth*, (*who went to Maſs in* Queen Maries *time, and alſo had actually owned the Pope, by keeping her Embaſſadour in the beginning at* Rome) was deprived of Soveraignty by the Bull of *Pius Quintus*; yet no cenſure paſt againſt *King James*, *K. Charles* the *firſt*, or this *preſent Monarch*: and the reaſon is, becauſe they always profeſſed themſelves *Proteſtants*, and never acknowledged his Holineſs *as their Biſhop and Paſtor.* Therefore *Proteſtat Magiſtrates* have no reaſō to fear either *Pope* or *Papiſts.*

The Anſwerer having urged this Councel, to viliſie it the more, tells us, 'twas

*Innocent*

*Innocent* the III. who there presided, that deposed our K. *John*, and *Otho* IV.: and then runs extravaganly to a forraign thing, in hopes to make it more disgustful, *viz.* that *this Councel which made Rebellion a duty, made Transubstantiation an Article of Faith.*

Concerning King *John*, I have told you before, that Popes as private Doctors may err, nay it is not certaine, that without a Councel they are infallible even in their interpretations of faith; much more therefore they are liable to err in their actions. Neither doe I canonize or approve whatsoever Popes have done in deposing Kings. And if some Popes have transgressed, it follows not that all have, no more then becauſe some Princes have been Tyrants, their Predeceſſors and Succeſſors muſt be so too. Differences between Kings and Popes, I consider as between Man and Wife: for in all Quarrels the right can be but on one side; yet it happens through humane imbecility, and revenge, that the most injured often commits some absurdity or other, by which the Peccant party may gain a very seeming advãtage. No brave *English*

King

King needed to have more feared Popes; then they needed to have feared their other gaping Neighbours. This Prince, Protestant Historians conclude to be the least deserving of all our Governours; for (passing by *his* [a] *youthful Rebellion*, the [b] *Murthering of his Nephew*, his [c] *Atheism*, &c. which they record) 'tis he that lost our whole interest (either by Conquest or Matches) in [d] *France*, and discontenting all his People, never obliged any body that I heard of, unless the [e] *Mayor and Corporation of* [e] *Lynne*. This yet is no excuse to the Pope, but shews only the unhappiness of the Nation, that it had not a more generous *Prince* (for Sr. Rob: Cotton [f] call's him *a licentious soueraigne*) to defend our Rights and Priviledges.

Now for *Transubstantiation*, it is true that in this Councel the word was first made Authoritatively use of, as in the Councel of *Nice*, the word *Trinity*; but the sence and meaning of both *Trinity* and *Transubstantiation* was in the Scripture, and held from age to age: Nay, the word *Transubstantiation* it self was used by [g] grave Authors in Writings before.

[a] Martin *Hen.* 2. p. 35 *Ric.* 1. p.
[b] Heyl. p. 89. *Dan.* 110
[c] Baker.
[d] Heyl. pag. 97.
[e] He gave them a Sword & Cup which they keep still.
[f] Vid. his *Hen.* 3. pag. 1.
[g] Hoveden. p. 576. alcensis Chaplain to *Hen.* 2. Ep. 140.

*Object.* 2. Concerning the Decrees and Bulls of Popes, he says, that from Gregory VII, they made such a trade of deposing Kings, that no weak King could wear his Crown, but at the Popes curtesie; and that *Boniface* VIII. declares in these words; *We say, and define, and pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation for every creature to be subject to the Bishop of* Rome.

To this I answer, that in the next Century (or a little more) after K. *John*, there were more weak Kings in *England* then either before or since, *viz.* *Hen.* 3. *Edw.* 2. *Ric.* and yet the Popes did not offer to take away their Crowns, or ever stirred to perplex them, though their wicked Subjects gave the Pope opportunity enough. Nay, though *Hen.* 3. *denied any acknowledgment upon the gift of King John*, yet the *Pope assisted him against the Rebellious Barons.* And for the composition of *Edward* the Seconds troubles, his *Holiness sent him two Cardinals*, but the Rebels would not accept of their Mediation, as knowing them too much of the Kings Party. Besides, I told you again and again, that the *Popes Decrees* and *Bulls* are not alwayes held infallible: and

2 Dan. Ed. 2. p. 175.

may

may be oppoſed, as they often have been by ſtiff and Religious Papiſts; nor will good Catholiques ſcruple to do it, eſpecially about Temporal affairs. And if Popes ſhould ſpeak in ſuch a Dialect (as the Miniſter urges) they mean *ſubjection in Spiritual matters.*

3. *Object.* Among the Divines that agree to the depoſing of Kings, he mentions ſome *Jeſuites*, as *Bellarmine*, *Suarez*, *Valentia*, *Parſons* or *Creſwel*; *Mariana* alſo he names, though he confeſſes him cõdemned. Out of theſe he cites ſeveral places to this purpoſe *viz.* As *Jehojada depoſed Athaliah, ſo may Popes deal with Kings.*

To this I ſay, Let the *Jeſuites* anſwer for their own Doctrine, for I am ſure they are of age, and able alſo; neither did they ever tell me otherwiſe, but that I might reject ſuch and the like opinions, they being only the private fancies of ſome of their Order. It has never been my ſtudy to pore upon Schoolmen, nor is it worth my pains now to ſearch Libraries, whether they have ſaid ſo or no; which truly I do very much doubt of. For my part, I cannot think *Jeſuites* ſuch *King-haters*, becau-

se Kings would then hate them; when as on the contrary we see all Princes cares them, and make them their *Confessors*. At this time the *Jesuites* are in this Office to the *Emperor*, the Queen of *England*, the King of *France*, the Queen Regent of *Spain*, the King of *Poland*, and as I take it, to the now King of *Portugal*; for they belonged thus to the late old *King* and *Queen* of that Kingdom: the Dukes of *Bavary*, *Newburgh*, and many other great Princes of Germany are also their Penitents; all which considered, I must look upon *Jesuites* in general to be faithfuller Subjects then Protestants imagine; for *Kings* though *Papists* are not always fools. But, suppose *Jesuites* were Villains; what is that to the Catholick Faith? must *Cambridge* be *Babylon*, and the *English* Religion false, because the Mebers of one Colledge (suppose *Emanuel*) were thought knaves and hypocrites?

The other Divines and Canonists whom the Minister urges, are *Baronius*, *Bertrand*, *Lancelotus*, *Peron*, *Rossæus*, who say (according to his citations) things to the same purpose about deposing of Kings.

All this put together, *Reader*, is the force of his Argument. The Objection about

out Councels and Bulls, you ſee is nothing; about Divines I have already given you a touch, but now I will handle it a little fuller. You muſt know (the Soul of man being ſo ſublime and towring) there is no profeſſion in the world, but that the wits of it aim to reſolve all difficulties that can be propoſed in the Science. This makes Philoſophers Metaphyſicians, and Schoolmen run into thoſe ſeeming odd ſubtleties, with which their writings are cram'd. In the like manner Caſuiſts (thinking it a diſgrace not to be able to anſwer ſomething to whatever can be propoſed) treat in their Books about all Caſes which their nimble fancies can ſtart. Among many impertinent niceties and curious Queſtions, this of depoſing Apoſtatizing Princes comes to be handled; ſome perchance are for it others in may be againſt it. Now, becauſe ſome have adjudged, *That upon a notorious falling away, the Church may give to the ſound the Dominions of the infected sheep, leſt the whole flock might be tainted*: immediately the Miniſter and other Proteſtants declare, that the dethroning of Kings is the Catholique Doctrine.

I am ſure this was not ſo abſolutely agreed to by the *Engliſh* Proteſtãts themſelves (at leaſt in diſcourſe) that there could be none found among them, who have favoured the opinion which we are ſaid to hold: how many well-meaning men fought againſt *Charles* the I, only *becauſe they falſely thought him a Papiſt*? and I my ſelf have heard thoſe of condition ſay, when the King was abroad, *that ſhould the Pope and his crew peruert him, they would oppoſe his return.* There was no danger of this, becauſe his Majeſty (like his Father and Grãdfather) has ſo great a veneration for Proteſtantiſm; but yet this that I urge was frequently ſpoke of and no body that reads this, but has heard ſuch diſcourſes often. What has been done about Religion in this our Country, I ſhall tell you [a] hereafter; and at preſent I ſhall ſhew you that we Papiſts are not the only *Rebel-teachers*, but that there are *Reformiſts* that profeſs this *Divinity* alſo.

[a] Vid. Rep. 22.

[b] *Luther* ſays, *You complain that by our Goſpel the World is become tumultous. I anſwer, God be thanked; theſe things I would have be, and wo me miſerable, if they were not.*

[b] Loc. Com. f. 57.

Zwinglius

[a] Zwinglius. *If the Roman Empire, or what other Soveraignty soever, should oppress the sincere Religion, and we negligently suffer the same, we shall be charged with contempt no less then the oppressors themselves; whereof we have an example in* 15. Jer. *where the destruction of the people is Prophesied, because they suffered their* K. Manasses, *being ungodly, to be unpunisht.*

[a] Epist. l. 4. p. 866.

[b] Calvin. *Earthly Princes do bereave themselves of Authority when they erect themselves against God; yea, they are unworthy to be accounted in the number of men, therefore we must rather spit in their faces then obey them.*

[b] In Daniel. C. 6. v. 22.

Passing by what [c] *Beza* did in *France* (*Davila* often mentions.) *He writ a Book of the Power of Magistrates, which* Mr. Sutcliffe *confesses, armed Subjects aginst their Prince.*

[c] Vidal. so Grimst. Hist. of France.

[d] Sundry *Englishmen* writ wholly of this Argument: *That the Councellors, and rather then fail, the very people were bound to reform Religion whether the Queen would or no, though it were by putting her to death.*

[d] Bancr. Dangerous Positions, p. 34.

I shall trouble you, *Reader*, with no more Citations (of which our Books are full) for I content my self with naming these

these of the greatest eminency: and certainly the opinions of these Doctors may be more justly charged upon Protestants in general, then the opinions of private Catholicks upon us; because *Luther*, *Zwinglius*, *Calvin* and *Beza* were the first Reformers: and if the Spirit of God taught them so much truth, as they are said to preach, why should this be more questionable then the rest? Therefore the Pope being *Pharaoh*, and Popery *Egypt* (as Ministers daily affirm in their Pulpits) we may well say, *These are thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt.*

These Apostles rested not in the Theory, but fell to the Practice also: for whereas the Popes since the first rise of the Reformation, never gave away (even by word) but two Crowns, *viz.* *England* and *France*; the Reformed have actually deposed the absolute Princes of *Scotland*, *Denmark*, *Swedeland* and *Geneva*; have ravisht also from their lawful Governours, the *Low-Countreys*, *Transylvania*, and many Towns, which are now called Free. And for Rebellion and Tumults, they have been eminent in *Poland*, *Boheme*, *Hungary*

*Hungary*, *France*, *Germany*? and in short, in all places where this Gospel has been preacht. This every Historian can tell you; nay, blind Mr. *Heylin* plainly saw it, therefore did all he could (when these Countries in his Geography were to be handled) to purge the Reformed from the Rebellion truly laid to their charge: but finding that washing a Blackmore was labour in vain, he was forced (with his Brother *Sleidan*) to fly for shelter to this abominable and prodigious Argument, [a] viz. *That Christ foretold, that Fathers should be against their sons, and brothers against brothers for his sake; and that we find not in any Story, the true Religion was indued, or corrupt about to be amended without War and Bloodshed.*

[a] Heyl. p. 314.

It is true, the lawful Protestant Church of *England* teaches no such Doctrine; but this I do not much wonder at, for why should men (the King being so absolute in Spirituals) run the risk to be undone for venting such notions, when as their Monarchs have been so strict Professors of their Religion? The test of this would be, if the Prince and people were different, or

like to be so in Faith and Worship. N[illegible] what the *English* have done herein w[illegible] this has happened, I will shew you, [illegible] said, [a] by and by.

[a] Vid. 2. ep. 22.

For my part, I look upon the *E*[illegible] to be the most well-meaning and most R[illegible]ligious people in the World; and it is th[illegible] which makes them all so violent in wh[illegible] their Conscience tells them is true. Th[illegible] made *Papists* so earnest for their Religion, which had governed *England* so long in glory. This made *Protestants* fierce to ro[illegible] out what they thought *Idolatry*. This ma[illegible]de *Presbyterians* desire to have *Prelatic*[illegible] Superstition *reformed*; and this made *Independents* and their brood cry down every thing, standing stiffly (as they imagined) *for the Kingdom of Iesus Christ*. I say, this great sincerity and zeal, makes all our Countrymen so violent: which good intention, wicked people taking advantage of, have caused so many disturbances among us; nor can Sectaries ever be quiet, till they are convinc'd that some Church or other is infallible.

Thus, *Reader*, have I answered to this strange Calumny against us, That our

Principles

ciples are inconsistent with Govern-
; by shewing that deposing of Kings
part of the Catholick Faith (which
tholique Princes do very well know)
also, that in Doctrine and Practice,
Reformed have been (whersoever
they came) far more faulty then we.

## SECT. VII. APOLOGY.

*My Lords and Gentlemen*, Had this been a new Sect not known before, something perchance might have been doubted; but to lay this at their doors that have governed the civilized World, is the Miracle of Miracles to us.

## ANSWER VII.

*Here he says, that they that have read most, and have had the most experience, can best cure us of the wonder; and that* K. James *(who had reason to know us) said in the Parliament*, That there were some that might be honest of the Party, being ignorātly seduced; but they that truly knew our Doctrines, could never be good Subjects. *Then he asks when it was that we governed the civilized World? For he says, the* Eastern,

*and* Southern *Churches never were under our Goverment, nor the* Western *neither, but when ignorant and barbarous.*

## REPLY VII.

Now I plainly see the design of this Minister is (to the end his flock may believe every thing answered) to say something to each *Paragragh*, let it be never so frivolous. Who is it, *Reader*, that having read History is ignorant of the great power the Bishop of *Rome* had over the *East*, as the *Greek Fathers* tell us? for wee read in [a] Eusebius *that Pope Victor* (about anno 200.) *Excomunicated the Eastern Church for not keeping Easter the Roman way.* and this *Grimston* also has in his account of *Popes*. Or who knows not of the *Appeals from Africk*, when matters of moment arose, even in the most acknowledged Primitive times? But I ask your pardon for asserting this, because in the Primitive times, they say, the Popes themselves were Protestants. Yet though this were so, I wonder the Minister should be so forgetful of the *Great Antichrist Boniface* the III, who is baited by every Shoolboy. This arrant Pope-lived

[a] Euseb lib. 5. Ch. 24.

ved above a 1000. years aago, and not only called himself Universal Bishop, but was owned so too by *Phocas* the *Universal Emperor* as all Protestants declare. Might not then a man modestly say, that Popery governed the civilized World, when it governed the whole World? But I do willingly forgive a man this, that has the confidence to say that we did not govern the *Western* World, till it grew ignorant and barbarous. It may be he means that those Parts have been so ever since Christs time, otherwise (till this late Reformation) there was never any Government on this side *Greece*, that denied the Popes Jurisdiction; and *Greece* it self owned it in the Councel of *Lateran*, and in *Hen.* 3. time also, *as Protestant* [b] Sir *Richard Baker* testifies.

a Anno 604.

b p. 130.

Ever since *Rome* made het self Mistress of all Arts and Sciences, the *West* took the name of the only civilized place: Therefore had he understood civility, he would not have made so simple a cavil; and I dare say, he is the first Protestāt Writer (though they have been as bold as *Hectors* in their denials) that has affirmed *the Church of Rome*

*me never governed the civilized World.*

But since this Minister mentions here *Popish ignorance*, I must desire the *Reader*, if he knows any of our Profession in the Country, to tell me, whether generally speaking, they are not esteemed more learned then their Neighbours of the same rank and degree. I am sure they that live at *London*, are thought by their Protestant Acquaintance as well bred, and as greate scholars as any of their condition with whom they usually converse. Concerning our Priests, consult their Books, and tell me then, whether they have been out done or no: and if any *English* man would know how they are abroad, let them go but to his next Neighbours the *French*, and there in every Diocess, he shall find a Clergy not only learned to admiration, but so far outgoing the *Hugonot*-Ministers, that one would think they lived not in the same Clime or Region. Nay, what is yet more, there is neither private nor publick Library in this very Island, but seven of ten of the choice Books in all Sciences were writ by Catholicks.

Is not this, *Good Reader*, strange igno-

rance

rance, for Protestants to be thus deceived; and implicitly led on by their Pastors contrary to what they hear and see? This, I must say, is incredible blindness, and exceeds that of the silliest Papists, who if they are cozened, it must be in things beyond their capacity, or by distance far remote from them. But now in *England* nothing is more common, then to have wise Protestants run into this and the like fond fancies; and at last when they can say no more, they are fain to shift it off with this Phanatical evasion, *That it is true, Papists are carnally, but not spiritually learned.*

## SECT. V. APOLOGY.

Did *Richard* the *first*, or *Edward Longshanks* suspect his Catholicks that served in *Palestine*, and made our Countries Fame big in the Chronicles of all ages!? or did they mistrust (in their dangerous absence) their Subjects at home because they were of this Profession? Could *Edward* the *third* imagine those to be Trayterous in their Doctrine, that had that care and duty for their Prince, as to make them (by Statute) guilty of death in the highest degree, that

that had the least thought of ill against the King? Be pleased that *Henry* the *fifth* be remembred also, who did those Wonders of which the whole World does still resound; and certainly all History will agree in this, that 'twas *Old-Castle* he feared, and not those that believed the Bishop of *Rome* to be Head of the Church.

## ANSWER VIII.

*To this he says, the Reigns of these Kings were in the dark times of corruption; yet the* Richard I. *bequeathed his Pride and Lechery to the Clergy and Monks. That* Edward I. *outlawed the Clergy, for obeying the Pope in not paying Taxes. That* Edward III, *and* Hen. V. *made good Laws against the* Popes *usurpation: and* Becket *vext* Hen. II *more, then* Hen. V *feared* Oldcastle. *Moreover, that all these Kings did not differ so much from* Protestants, *as the* Papists *now do: and to conclude, he asks, did not the* Pope *force* K. John *to do homage for* England, *wrestle with* Edward I *the first for* Scotland, *and often lay claim to* Ireland?

## REPLY. 8.

Certainly, *Reader*, the Minister is beside

des himself, since he can say the *English* differed not so much from the *Protestants* then as we do now. Has the man railed all this while against the Tyranny of *Popes*, and urged those times as the height of their Authority, and then comes to this evasion? I would fain know, if the *Clergy* and *Religious* were since ever more in power then in those days? was there ever more of *Pilgrimages* and all sorts of Devotion, which *Protestants* call *Superstitious*? were not *Schoolmen* then most in their splendor? And lastly, could any *Publican*, *Lollard*, *Wickliffian*, or new Sect stir, but the whole Kingdom presently detested them? Who then will ever believe a word more he says, when he is so strangely impudent to no purpose? But these are the worthy tricks used to keep the poor people in ignorance; and just with as much truth are the Fathers called defenders of the Protestant Religion: for the Fathers stiled them always Hereticks *that ran out of the visible Church*.

For the Laws that have been made by any of our Kings if they made any against Ecclesiastical usurpations, God reward them; and to this all Catholicks will say, Amen. Concerning K. *John* we have already spoke enough. And for the Popes claim to *Scotland*,

judge, *Reader*, whether any man can be fuller of falsity and malice then this Minister my Adversary. For here he would have the World think (by his placing this Accusation after King *Johns* business, and by calling it the *Popes* wrestling with *Edward* I. for the Soveraignty of *Scotland*) there was some notorious injustice done by the *See* of *Rome*. In short, the business was only this, as you may find in *Hollingshead*, the most violent English Historian against *Papists* that ever yet writ. The *Scots* having always an animosity against the *English*, and not knowing how to resist the Victorious Arms of *Edward*, who was again coming with a great Army against them, surrendred the Kingdom, (or so pretended) to *Boniface*. 8. He thereupon sent to the King to desist, because the Crown belonged to the Church. *Edward* immediately returned an Answer, and so did all the Barons of *England*, to manifest the Kings right, and the invalidity of the new pretence. *The Pope* (says [a] Hollingshead) *when he deliberately pondered the Kings Answer, with the Letter from the English Barons, waxt cold in the matter, and followed it no farther.* Thus, *Reader*, you see how the case stood, and how

[a] Hol. p. 311.

Catho-

Catholiques are wronged by ill men; nor is there any difference between a falſe aggravation, and a downright lye. In the ſame manner are we uſed in this Accuſation of *Ireland*; for the *Pope* never medled with *Ireland* but ſince the Reformation, and ſo invaded it in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, of which you ſhall ſee farther in the [a] *Section* of Popiſh miſdemeanors in her Reign. [a] *Vid. Rep.* 23

The parity between *S. Th. Becket* and *Oldcaſtle* is doubtleſs very odd; the laſt being a Rebel (with Complices in arms) againſt [b] *Henry* the *fifth*: the other diſputing only about Priviledges, which he ſaid were grãted to Prieſts. Juſt as if our Peers ſhould ſtãd upon the freedome of their Perſons, were there a deſign to have them impriſoned as other Subjects, or tried by a common Jury. Beſides, all Princes of Chriſtendome then, owned *Becket* for a Saint; when as no body (unleſs ſuch a man as *Fox*) thought *Oldcaſtle* deſerved any thing but the Gallows. [b] Stovv. p. 561.

## SECT. IX. APOLOGY.

We will no longer trouble you with putting you in mind of any more of our mighty Kings, who have been feared abroad, and as ſafe at home as any ſince the Reformation

of Religion. We shall only add this, that if Popery be the enslaving of Princes, *France* still believes it self as absolute as *Denmarck* or *Sweden*.

## ANSWER IX.

*He says, the King of France will believe what he pleases. For his Majesty well knows the* Pope *gave away* France *formerly, fomented War against* Hen. 4. *and would do the same against him, were it not for his Power and Religion.*

## REPLY IX.

I shewed you before in the *sixth Reply*, that though the Reformed have actually taken away from their lawful Governours so many Dominions, yet the *Pope* never gave away but *England* and *France* which nevertheless are still under their proper Soveraigns. Consider then, whether (since the light of the Gospel appeared) the *Protestant* or *Popish* manner of dealing has been most destructive to Princes; and judge if this be an Answer to my demand, which was, Whether *France* acknowledging the *Pope*, be not as absolute as *Sweden* or *Denmark* that are *Protestants*? If so, it follows then, that *Popery* does not enslave a *King*.

We

We are beholden to the Minister, for confessing the King of *France* is of the same Religion with the *Pope*: for I have heard some in *England* say, he was a Protestant. Thanks be to God, there is no danger of a breach between *Rome* and *France in matters of Faith*; for (as the very *Gazets* told us *An.* 1664.) when the *French* Army was in *Italy*, *The King* (having owned the condemnation of *Jansenius*) *even then sent to the Pope to prosecute the Jansenists in France. Henry* the *Eighth* will be a warning to his Neighbours for revolting hereafter from the Church; for instead of a little Ecclesiastical dependence on the Sea of *Rome*, he has embroiled *England* in perpetual confusion about Religion; millions of Sects daily dividing and subdividing, each of which pretend they are in the right, and each quote Scripture for their Opinions.

And by the way, *Reader*, be pleased to remember, that had not this King of ours destroyed Religious Houses, all the truly devout Sectaries at present would have voluntarily been cloister'd there, who now distract both the Kingdom & themselves; for having no quiet place to vent that zeal which boyls within, they become a prey to

a few wicked men, that blow up their well-meaning Piety into disorders and sedition. Nay, many of the discontented Factions themselves, who now lie open to the sway and hurry of their own passions, would have been glad of such a retreat, honorable to all, even from the Monarch to the Peasant. Therefore I see now why [a] *Speed* a Protestant (when he made an end of his Catalogue of the destroyed Abbies) spoke in this manner: *We have laid to your view a great part of King* Henry's *ill, the waste of so much of Gods revenue, however abused*, But *Cambden* is yet more tart, for he [b] says *That many Religious places, Monuments of our Forefathers Piety and Devotion, to the honour of God, and Propagation of Christian faith*, &c. *were in a moment prophaned*, [c] *and the Riches dispersed which had been consecrated to God since the English Nation first profest Christianity.*

[a] Sp. pag. 18.

[b] Cam. Brit p. 163. A.

[c] Cam. Brit. 163. D.

## SECT. X. APOLOGY.

Nor will ever the House of *Austria* abjure the Pope, to secure themselves of the fidelity of their Subjects.

## ANSWER X.

*To this he says, the* Austrian *Family being so linckt to the Pope (by possessing* Naples, Sicily,

ly, and Navar *by his Gift*) *and theire Subjects also being Papists, it were a mad way to secure themselves by changing Religion. But what is that, says he, to* England, *where since the extrusion of that trash (we call the Catholick Faith) the King and people are no more Papists; and having been often troubled by us, have reason by experience to fear our designs?*

## REPLY. V 10.

To this I reply, That the *Spaniard* being now in actual possession, can as well defend these places (were he a Protestant) as *Millan, Flanders*, &c. *which are not the Popes gift*; or as well as other Reformed Princes have done their Countries. And for the Subjects being Papists, that is nothing, *For all subjects before Luthers time were Papists also.* The Minister therefore grants me here all that from the first I desired. For if our former Kings were considerable abroad, and as safe at home, as since the change of Religion: If the King of *France* be as absolute as *Denmarck* or *Sweden*; and if the House of *Austria* cannot better secure the fidelity of their Subjects by becoming Protestants, then by continuing Papists: I say, it must necessarily follow; That Kings and Kingdoms by being

ing Papists are not less absolute then if Reformed: and by the same Consequence, their Subjects not one whit faithfuller to their Lords by being Protestants, then if they were Papists. Tell me then, where is the Temporal advantage of Reformation? and whether our Answerer has not bauld long in vain; since he now by this grants me, that Kings may be absolute, and Subjects faithful under Popery: and yet lately he affirmed, That Popery is inconsistent with Government, by reason of Princes dependence on the *Pope* in Ecclesiastical matters; and that all *Papists* are prone to Rebellion, *by the Determination of our Councels, Bulls and Divines.*

But the Minister says, What is all this to *England*, where Prince and people are Protestants? I answer, 'tis thus much to *England*, That now it is plain, 'tis an errour that Popery is inconsistent with Government; and it also shews that Princes get no power (in the long-run) by reforming, but on the contrary, perpetual disorders follow. How dangerous we have been to our Protestant Princes, shall be discust in the Reflexion on the *Popish* [a] misdemeanours in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*

[a] Rep. 22. & Rep. 28

But how faithful and serviceable we were to King *Charles* the *First* and *Second*, all *Europe* has sufficiently declared in our behalves.

## SECT. XI. APOLOGY.

We shall always acknowedge to the whole World, that there have been as many brave *English* in this last Century, as in any other place whatsoever. Yet since the exclusion of the Catholick Faith, there has been that committed by those, who would be fain called Protestants, that the wickedest Papist at no time dreamt of.

## ANSWER XI.

*Here he asks what may that be? for four or five of our Kings of our own Religion have been murthered by* Papists: *that lately* Hen. 4. *of* France *was killed by* Ravillac; *and* Hen. 3. *by Frier* Clement. *And besides this, we have killed by whole Townships in* England, Ireland, France, *and* Piedmont.

## REPLY 11.

What a Volume might there be here writ, if every matter mentioned were to be fully discust? But these are the artifices of

the Brethren, that when they know not what to say, run to another thing, in hopes to puzzle an ordinary Reader, who cannot imagine (hearing so great a buzze) but that there must be something at least of real.

My assertion in the Apology was, That our former *English Papists* never did such villanies as have been committed since the Reformation. To this he answers nothing, but impertinently runs *to the private Murthers of some of our Kings.* Is this proportionable, *Good Reader?* Who knows not that the Murtherers of *Ed.* 2. *Ric.* 2. and *Hen.* 6. were so conscious of their wickedness, that all was done in the dark; nor would they ever own otherwise then that they dyed without violence. For twas given out that the death of the first of these Princes came by *extreame Griefe.* That the other *Starved himselfe*, and that the last died of *a Naturall sickneſſe* But the excecution of the Queen of *Scots* was bare-fac'd in the sight of the World, and which was more, under the cloak of Law. My Lord of *Leiceſter* was sensible of the dishonour that would accrew to the Nation, and therefore sent *Walsingham a godly Divine* to satisfie his conscience, that it was lawful to poyson her; but the

a Dan. Ed 3. p. 183.
b Buck Ric 3. p 250.
c Buck. p 81.
d An. 1585. Cam. p. 415.

the *Minister* could no more convince his penitent, then the Saints could *Harrison* about the clandestine Murther of the Grandchild. And doubtless the whole intrigue against Q. *Mary* gave precedent and boldness to our execrable *Parricides*, openly to do their detestable villany in a formal method and manner.

This procedure against the Queen, contrary, as 'twas imagined, to the Law of Nations (she being both a Guest and an absolute Princess) drew an universal *odium* upon the *Kingdom*, *for the Reproach was entailed on the whole nation by the apparition of a mimicall and Counterfeit justice*, as Osborne call's it; nor did any Englishman, either Papist or Protestant ever misse to be upbraided with it abroad; till the greatness of the abomination against King *Charles* made them leave off a little speaking of the first, to remember us more piquantly of the last. [a] Hist. Mem. Eliz. p. 21.

Is it to excuse the two unheard of actions, that he tells me of four or five Kings since the Conquest made away by Papists? It may be it is that I should again retort, that (since *Hen.* 8. Reign) there were but [b] *four Protestant Monarchs, and three of them were said to come to violent deaths.* But what is *Ra-* [b] Ed. 6. Eliz. & Iam. & Charl.

*villac's* murther of *Hen.* 4. to us in *England*, more then to *Saxony*, the poysoning of *Edw.* 6. *by the Lord Robert Dudly*, for so [a] Sir *Richard Baker conceives he hid.* I know *Clement* the *Frier* destroyed *Hen.* 3. so did *Judas* his Master; and yet neither the Disciples, nor Christian Religion were ever thought the worse for it.

[a] P. 444 *vid.* also Buck. R. 3. p. 123.

For the Murther of the Protestants in *Ireland* I shew'd you in the [b] beginning, how we detested it. Concerning the Blood spilt in *France*, I shall speak at large in the *Paragraph* about that [c] *Massacre.* But I wonder the *Piemontoufines* should be unged by Royallist; for I remeber when *Crowel* made a Collectiō for thē in pretence, but for himself in reality, the Cavaliers *ever stiled them Rebels*, and said, *the Duke of Savoy was necessitated for his quiet to subdue them thus by Arms.* Yet for all their hard usage, I wish we had as much freedome as they.

[b] Rep. 1

[c] Rep. 18

Now for Queen *Maries* Reign, which this man so often calls the *Bloody days*, I will here speak a little, eternally to stop his mouth hereafter. First, [d] *Reformed Historians agree, that the Queen her self was a marveillous good woman*, therefore it was not she, but her Bishops that were cruel. A gain, every Englishman knows, that no man can be *put to death*

[d] Bish. Goodvvin, Baker, Speed, &c.

*hath amongst us without Law*; therefore they were not the Bishops, but the Laws that were cruel: *which Laws still continue, and have been made use of since the Reformation by Q. Elez. & K. Iames to burne Hereticks.*

Yet for all these Laws there died of Protestants in the whole, but [a] 277. as *Baker* and [b] other Protestant Writers record. Besides, were these 277. now alive, 200. at least, in stead of pity, would be thrown into prison, and there rot for *Non-conformists*: but all things were called Saints in the dawning of the light even so much as *Collins and his* dog for *Fox* in his *Acts*, and *Monuments* say's that *Collins beeing mad, and seeing a Priest hold up the Host to the people, tooke a dog and held it up, as the Priest did the Host, for wch he and the dog were* [c] *burnt.* Yet though this *Collins* be own'd by *Fox to be mad*, never the less he places him as a *Martyr on the* 10. *of Octob.* as may be seen in his Calendar.

[a] Baker Q. M. P. 467.
[b] Speed, Q. M. P. 812.
[c] Anno 1538.

In the next place, let me know whether a man may be executed for this Tenets in Religion, or no? If it be lawful, why might not Papists put to death men (who they thought deserved it) as well as Protestants? If no man ought to suffer for his Conscience,

why did [a] *Edward* 6. and Q. *Eliz.* condemn so many Hereticks in their time? all which were executed, but some few that recanted, and so saved their lives. Or why did *K. James* put to death [b] *Legat* and *Wightman*, but because he religiously thought it was unfit they should longer live to blasphemie?

[a] *Stow in the several Reigns of these two Princes*

[b] *Baker K. I. p. 411.*

Over and above these (that died for a *Religion of their own making*) I saw a Roll at *Doway*, wherein to the year 1632. there suffered out of that *one House* 105. *Priests*; since which there died many out of the same *Colledge*. Add to these many out of the *Portugal*, *Spanish*, and *Roman Seminaries*, many of other *Orders*, and many *Laymen* also, who have been executed for *owning the Pope in Spirituals*, or for having a *Priest say Mass in their Houses* according to the obligation of their Consciences. If these were then all numbred, I am sure, there suffered many more Catholicks (omitting the innumerable Confiscations) by the Protestant Government, then ever there did Protestants by the Catholick. Nay, if together with Catholicks I should reckon *all sorts of people that died for their Conscience though enemyes to Popery* (which may be found in *Fox*, *Stow* and *others* in the Reignes of *Hen.* 8. *Ed.* 6. and

and *Queen Elizabeth*) it is evident, there has been more Blood ſpilt on a Religious account under our *Princes that diſowned the Pope*, then by the Papiſts from St. *Auguſtins* Converſion to *Luthers* time. *Judge then, if Catholicks be ſo bloody as they are reported and thought.*

## SECT. XII. APOLOGY.

'Twas never heard of before, that an abſolute Queen was condemned by Subjects, and thoſe ſtiled her Peers; or that a King was publiquely tried and executed by his own people and ſervants.

## ANSWER XII.

*Here he ſays, That the Q. of* Scots *was beheaded under* Elizabeth *by the ſame colour of right that* Wallis *ſuffered under* Edw. 1. *(whom I call, he ſays, a brave Prince) namely that of Soveraignty, which our Princes challenged over* Scotland: *but that King* James *and King* Charles *never imputed this to Q.* Elizabeths *Religion.*

*Concerning King* Charles *'s Murther, he ſays, that I would take it ill, a* Turk *ſhould charge the Miniſters faults and his Parties upon me; but I do worſe then a* Turk, *in charging theſe mens faults upon the Proteſtants: for the*

*Mur-*

*Murtherers were neither then, nor since of the Ministers Communion. He sayes, King* Charles *declared, he died for the Protestant Religion and Laws of the Land: that also in his Letter to the Prince, he says, none of the Rebels were Professors or Practicers of the Church of* England, *which gives no such Rules.*

## REPLY XII.

Nay, now I have quite geven over my Minister; for though he had no regard of himself methinks he might have had more respect for our King, then to parallel his Grand-mother with *Wallis*. You must know *Reader* that *Edward* the *First* by his valour conquered *Scotland*, and made all the Nobles swear Fealty to him. About *Ann.* 1300. (when all things were thus at quiet) up starts *Wallis* [a] *a poore private Gentlemen*, who though he had distressed the English a while, yet never so much as once pretended to the Crown, either by Sword, or Birth. Afterwards he was *taken by our King, and* [b] *executed* for his Insurrections. Is this man then a fit parallel with *Mary Stuart*, owned not only as Queen of *Scots* abroad, but by Queen *Elizabeth* her self also, who often sent and received Embassadors from her, with the same

[a] *Dan. Ed. 2. p. 166.*

[b] *Dan. p. 188.*

same state, as was used to the King of *France*, or any other Potentate? What King *James* and King *Charles* thought of the action, I know not; but I wish it had never been done.

Concerning the other part of his Answer: First, I did never charge the Kings Murther on any body, but those that were the *Authors of it*; he knows best whether he was one of them or no: this I am sure of, he can falsifie, and (to use *Harrisons* words) *blacken* as well as the best of them, as you may see all a long, and especially in the next Section.

Secondly, I do verily believe that King *Charles* died a sincere Protestant. And lastly, I am so far from laying any crime upon the *Generality Protestants*, that I think them as brave and as worthy Gentlemen, as any Nation bears. But this I must say; that the *English* Church (though of an honest intention) is built upon such Principles, that as long as it lasts, it will hatch a dissenting brood: and these graceless Children, upon every advantage will be ready to Rebel. This is then the benefit entailed by *Hen.* 8. Reformation; which has (as Baker confesses) *so shaken the Church that it has stood in distraction ever since.* a Bak p 390.

## SECT. XIII. APOLOGY.

*My Lords and Gentlemen*, We know who were the Authors of this last abomination, and how generously you strove against the raging torrent; nor have we any other ends to remember you of it, but to show that all Religions may have a corrupted spawn; and that God hath been pleased to permit such a Rebellion, which our Progenitors never saw, to convince you perchance (whom for ever may he prosper) that Popery is not the only source of Treason.

## ANSWER XIII.

*Here he says, since we do know who were the Authors of the Abomination; he desires us to be plain, for he thinks I have spoke more truth then every man is aware.* Cardinal Richelieu, *he says, began the Rebellion in* Scotland: *then it broke out in* Ireland, *blest with his Holiness Letters and Nuntio. Lastly*, England *we unsettled, by giving occasion of jealousies, which the* Phanaticks *made use of for their purposes. Besides all this, he says, the Murther of the King also was agreed on in the Councels of our Clergy and therefore in vain could the Royalists resist the raging Torrent.*

RE-

## REPLY XIII.

Lord, what blaſphemies are here! and what a heap of unſorted falſities are put together, without any probability or proof! Becauſe *Richelieu* a great Miniſter of State (who intrigued in every Nation,) is ſuppoſed to have dealt with the *Presbyterians* of *Scotland*, the *Papiſts* of *England* were the cauſe of the Rebellion. This is rare Logick, eſpecially every body knowing that fire and water agreed better then thoſe Saints and we. I wonder the Papiſts were not guilty of the *dangerous commotion anno* 1666. *in that Kingdom*. But this is ſo ridiculous, that I ſhould be more abominable then he, if I made more words of it; Nor does that great Anti-Papiſt H. L. in his [a] *Reigne of Ch.* 1. ſcruple to write, that *the Liturgy* (or Common Prayer) *was the Originall of the Scotch troubles*. [a] P. 1, 6

In the next place if the flame break out in *Ireland*, (which *Heath a Proteſtant* hiſtorian [b] ſayes *can be noe where more imputable then to the Parliament's unwarantable proceedure againſt my Lord Strafford*) we in *England* are again the cauſe of it; ſo that if forraign *Catholicks*, or forraign Proteſtants Rebel, ſtill we muſt be the *Authors*, that never [b] Heath pag. 36.

had any correſpondence with either of theſe Nations, nor have to this day, as all the World ſees. Well then may this man falſely charge the *Pope* who is remote, when he dares ſay thus of us who can ſo eaſily contradict his calumnies.

Laſtly, for *England*, he urges we were the occaſion of jealouſies, and they made the War. *O ridiculous impudence!* If the majority of both Houſes conſpire againſt the King, ſuggeſt in open Debates fears of their own hatching, and at the ſame time with all violence perſecute Papiſts, yet we are to be blamed, and cauſers of the Commotions. Certainly, this is like him *that curſed the Lord Chancellour, becauſe his horſe ſtumbled.* I am ſure many grave men of your Coat (Mr. Parſon) ingenuouſly confeſt, that it was the *Tranſlation of the Bible*, or the too frequent reading of it by the ignorant (which is a conſequent of the Tranſlation) that cauſed our diſorders.

Conſider now, *Reader*, this ſtrange man: for if his malice had not exceeded all bounds, he would have told you, That the *Non-conformiſts* took root aſſoon as the Reformation: That Queen *Elizabeth's* prudence kept them a little down: That in King

*James*

*James* his Reign they grew much ſtronger; and that great Stateſmen have often blamed that wiſe Prince, becauſe (to keep things quiet in his Reign) he occaſioned the Tide to rush in with ſuch irreſiſtable force in our late unhappy times. *Thus was this Storm by knowing Pilots foreſeen long ago.*

But would not a man now think this Miniſter had abuſed us ſufficiently? No, he muſt yet go farther, even *The Kings death was agreed to in the Councels of our Clergy.* Doubtleſs he cannot mean our *Prieſts* by the word, for what did their agreeing ſignifie more, then if the Mayor of *Quinborough* and his Brethren agreed, that the *Janizaries* ſhould ſtrangle the *Grand Seignior*? Had our Prieſts any power in *England*? Were they not forced to skulk always in holes, and hanged as often as taken? I am ſure *Ieſuites*, *Seculars*, and *Friers* were executed, no Order eſcaping, al being fish that came to net. But now I remember my ſelf, Mr. Parſon pretends to be skilled in Rhetorick, and perchance he uſes a Trope of his own making; that is, That becauſe two Negatives make an affirmative, or a thing contrary to themſelves; therefore his four falſities in this one Section, ſhall dubb an irrefragable truth

oppoſite to each ſingle aſſertion. The Miniſters meaning then it ſeems is this, That inſtead of our being falſe to the State, *We have been moſt intirely faithful to our King and Country.*

Good *Reader*, I muſt ask you pardon, for ſaying any thing againſt theſe vain and groundleſs cavils; ſeeing the whole World knows, that never were men more earneſtly Loyal then we. Beware therefore of this man, for it was he, or ſome of the like Principles, that (out of malice againſt the late King) wickedly divulged, *That his Majeſty had underhand cauſed the Iriſh Rebellion: that he had a mind to bring in Popery, and to enſlave the Nation, had ſent for an Outlandiſh Guard.* Thus cried the *Engliſh* Rebels againſt their glorious Prince; and thus now invents this Miniſter Stories, to miſchief, if he can, his innocent fellow-Subjects and Country-men. And who can be guiltleſs, if aſſertions without any ſhadow of proof ſhall be received againſt him?

## SECT. XIV. APOLOGY.

Little did we think (when your Prayers and ours were offered up to beg a bleſſing on the Kings Affairs (ever to ſee that day,

in

in which *Carlos*, *Gifford*, *Whitgrave*, and the *Pendrels* should be punished by your desires for that Religion, which obliged them to save their forlorn Prince; and a stigmatized man for his offences against King and Church, chief promoter of it. Nay, less did we imagine, that by your Votes *Hudlestone* might be hanged, who again secured our Soveraign; and others free in their fat possessions, that sat as Juddes, and sealed the Execution of that Great Prince of happy Memory.

## ANSWER XIV.

*He says, That many of my Church were not of my Party; and that if some of them did the King eminent service in the Critical day of danger, so did the Protestants too: therefore it is not to be ascribed to our Religion. Nor is it reasonable to requite particular men, by having those Laws abandoned, which secure us against as great a danger. 'Tis barbarity for any Christian (but those of our Sect) to question his life that exposed it for his Prince, or to do this in any age, except* Queen Maries; *for then Sir* Nich. Throgmorton *was so dealt with: But the Minister detests such times and such examples; and he knows the King will reward deserving persons without*

*without trespassing on his Laws. Lastly, he desires me to be favourable to the stigmatized man (whom I do not hate, he knows, for his offences) because the King whom he formerly displeased bears with him: for he contributed much against the Phanaticks to his Majesties restauration, and would not willingly live to see the Pope turn him out again.*

## REPLY XIV.

What is the meaning of this distinction, *That many of my Church were not of my Party?* Have we not been all of the same Party, or can there be named a Papist that was not for the King, even in te worst of times? But, Good Mr. Parson, have you all this while cut our throats, and do you now come with your insignificant flatteries, *that there were some eminent among us for Loyalty*? I fear not the worst you can say, and for the best I scorn it. Did I ever say otherwise, then that the Protestants were to be honoured for their wonderful service to the King? Was not the *Apology* directed to them? and have I not always declared, that his Majesty ows as much to them, as ever Prince can owe to Subjects? Certainly, 'tis no lessning of their worth, because we did

our

our endeavours, and have been fellow-sufferers with them in that Glorious Quarrel. I never prest in the *Apology* to have any particular body exempted: We only say there, Little did we once think that the necessity of affairs would occasion the Royal Party to advise the punishment of us all, and in the crowd *those worthy Preservers of the King at Worcester*. Yet, Sir (with your permission) it were not so unreasonable neither, as you would have it, for the service of some few to suspend the Laws against a Party. You have read, I know, the Scripture, and therefore may remember *Mordecay*'s case, who *by saving the King's life, not only preserved himself and his Nation from Ruine*, but *obtained also honour and freedom for them all*. But what do you drive at by *Throgmortons* usage? Will you never leave perverting History, or at best betraying your own ignorance? First, you must know, *Reader*, that *Throgmorton* by none of our Historians is mentioned to have done any service for Queen *Mary*; Yet [a] *Hollinshead* has *his trial at large* (which *John Lilburn* afterwards copied out to the life) where no evasion is omitted; and certainly it had been then a fit time to urge merits, had he had any.

[a] Reign Q. M. p. 1104.

But suppose he was as eminent and faithful as *Bedinfield*, *Jerningham*, &c. Must that excuse a man from being fairly tried for Treason? This Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* (you must know) with others, was accused as a [a] *Conspirator with Wyat, for which he had a Tryal and was acquitted by his Jury.* Why, distempered Sir, 'tis so far from our business, that we do earnestly desire in the Apology (upon the least offence against the State) the Transgressour may die without mercy; and this I'le be bound *Col. Carlos* and the rest of those brave men shall willingly subscribe. But will you, worthy Countryman (that know his Majesties thoughts so well) engage that none of the factious shall murmure at him for rewarding those that have done well?

[a] Speed, Q. M. P. 847. Stovv. Q. M. 1053.

Now for the stigmatized, I find, Mr. Parson, you pretend to be very well acquainted with their actions: If they have done any thing (which God knows is little, and not to the hundreth part of their transgression) let them thank God for the grace he has given them to do the King at length service: but I am sure if they really meant well, they would never promote the haralling of a faithful Party, till they found them machinating

chinating againſt their Prince. I have no particular ſpleen to any man, yet cannot look on thoſe men, as either of wit or honeſty, who needleſly diſoblige, and who *ſtrive with violence to have Chriſtians perſecuted for Religion; when as they themſelves are the firſt that rail againſt all mankind, if their own Conſciences be toucht, though it be by the eſtablisht Laws of the Nation.*

## SECT. XV. APOLOGY.

We confeſſ, we are unfortunate, and you juſt Judges, whom with our lives we will ever maintain to be ſo; nor are we ignorant the neceſſity of affairs made the King and you do things, which formerly you could not ſo much as fancy: yet give us leave to ſay we are ſtill Loyal; nay, to deſire you to believe ſo, and to remember how *ſynonymous* (under the late Rebellion) was the word Papiſt and Cavalier; for there was no Papiſt that was not deemed a Cavalier, nor no Cavalier that was not counted a Papiſt, or at leaſt thought to Popiſhly affected.

## ANSWER XV.

*He will paſſ over our fawning on the Parliament, and commending our ſelves, and believes us, as we did the Sectaries that called*

*the Cavaliers Papists. He wonders why these Royallists should be termed Popishly affected: but if the Papists were judged Cavaliers, they afterwards were ashamed of it. In* Ireland *whole Armies were up against the King. In* England *some came in voluntarily to serve him,* but more were hunted into Garrisons; *it being well known we should bring his Majesty more hatred then service. The greatest part of us that fought for him when his fortunes stood, fell off when he declined. Then he asks us, where we were from that time forward, in all those weak efforts of a gasping Loyalty? We were fluttering,* he says, *and giving sugered words to the Rebels, as now we do to the Royallists: for we addresse our Petitions,* To the Supream Authority of the Nation, the Commonwealth of England: *that we had generally taken, and punctually kept the engagement: We promist if we might enjoy our Religion, we would be most faithful and useful Subjects of* England. *We proved it in these words:* [b] The Papists of *England* would be bound by their interest to live peacefully and thankfully in the exercise of their Conscience; and becoming gainers by such compassions, they could not so easily be distrusted, as the Prelatick Party that were loosers. *Moreover (the Minister on his*

a 1647. 1656. 1659.

b First Moderator.

*his own word, ſays) we farther proved all this by real teſtimonies, which not to ſhame us too much, he will paſs by in ſilence. Now if after all this we were deemed Cavaliers, we were much wronged.*

## REPLY 15.

Good, Mr. Parſon, ſpeak truth, and you will ſhame no body but your ſelf: have you beſpattered us all this while with falſities; and will you now do it farther by your Pedantick Rhetorick? Pray, *Reader*, to ſpeak moderately, is not this man the archeſt wrangler that ever was? for if he dares diſown a thing which all men know, how will he then cavil, do you think, at what is known but only to the Wiſe? was ever any thing ſo evident, as that *the Rebels deemed all Papiſts Cavaliers, and all Cavaliers Papiſts?* I do not infer that therefore all Cavaliers were Papiſts, only, I ſay, they were generally ſo called; nor is any body ignorant, that the reaſon was, to make them more hated by the people, as this Miniſter by his falſe gloſſes would at this inſtant ſerve us.

Concerning our frankneſſ to ſerve the King, it is ſo fully treated in the *Preface*, that no truth was ever more plainly made

manifeſt. But what made this mad-man ask where we were in all thoſe weak efforts of gaſpink Loyalty? Were not we where the reſt of the Royal party were? *Some of us were in London, ſome with the King, ſome about diſpatches, ſome in the Tower, ſome ſold to the Iſlands*; and in fine, was there any Plot but the Catholicks were as numerous in it proportionably as any other Subjects? Was ever man ſo impudent as to deny this? Yes, the Miniſter does it, and farther ſays, we were *flattering the Rebels with Addreſſes, and owning them the Supream Power of the Nation.* Reader, leſt this ſhould be a ſtumbling-block to the weak, I wille give you ſome account of the matter.

After the Rebels had trampled down Monarchy, and enſlaved the whole Nation by force; it happened that a Lay-Gentleman (with whom I have no manner of acquaintance, but have heard him ever eſteemed of much wit and integrity) ſeeing the then ruling Grandees pretend by their Principles to be againſt all Perſecution for Conſcience, thought it would not diſoblige the Catholiques or any body elſe, if he ſtickled a little for a private Toleration. The Proteſtant Cavaliers had many daily Congrega-

tions

tions at *London*, which, the constancy and courage of Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Gunning*, Dr. *Thriscross*, &c. (with some sweet words also) forc'd the Rebels to a kind of connivence at; but the Papists could not follow the same Method: For whereas the Protestant Ministers (if the Governement had on a sudden fell to severity) knew they should be but carried to the *White Hart*, or at most imprisoned for a day or two; a Popish Priest was sure to be hanged, and all his Auditory fineable also by the known Laws of the Land. This Gentleman therefore, to try the pulse of the Rebels, that juggled in all their Professions, writ two Books, called the *First and Second Moderator*: the thing in it self could not be discommended; but for the wording, he (I mean the Author) is to answer for it. The Books I have not by me, but you may be sure the Minister has quoted the worst things in them; and I question not a little whether all be true he mentions, having already found him false, as you see in many particulars.

I need not vindicate the Gentleman, for he can do it himself to the purpose: My business at present only is to admire the folly of my Adversary, who hand over head lays

as

as a crime; the indiscretion (which is the most that can be said of it) of a private man to all his Party. Would not this Logick then make the whole Church of *England guilty of Phanatick Principles*, because Dr. *Taylor* writ for *liberty of Prophesie*? And if our Gentleman may be thought to have shewed his Papers to some Catholiques before they were published, 'tis every jot as probable, the Dr. made Protestants acquainted with his Book before it was sent to the Press. It is very severe doubtless, if the inconsiderateness of one, should not only be fathered on us all, but urged against us, equal to the Treason of the late Transgressors. No people on Earth can be safe at this rate; nay, all the Protestant Cavaliers themselves (those *great patterns of Loyalty*) would be involved, if such consequences were allowed. Every body knows, that some Great men got out of *Decimation* by favour, and that many Gentlemen (it may be out of prudence, knowing the end of Plots) refused to receive *Letters*, much less *Commissions* from the King. How many Souldiers also were there that served *Cromwel* at *Jamaica* and other Places: neither failed there a compliance in Poets too, as in *Cowly* and *Cleveland* themselves:

selves: and for *Lawyers* there was no want of them in *Westminster-Hall*, whensoever a *Cavalier* had need. The *Ministry* also of the Nation had some among them that were not able to resist Temptation; for there were not a few that took the *Covenant*; and Dr. *Martin* in his printed Letters taxes a great One for complying with the *Presbyterians* abroad. But why does my *Minister* lay the taking of the *Engagement* as a crime against us, seeing it was generally taken through the whole Kingdom, no body being capable of Law that had not done it? Nor did any body fail of calling the *Parliament the Supream Authority of the Nation*, if they had Law-suits Petitions or any thing else of that Nature. Is this a blemish to the Cavaliers in general? No, 'tis so far from it, that even the most of these I mention, when occasion served, were ever forward in the Kings concerns. But all things perchance are lawful to all men, so they be not Catholicks.

## SECT. XVI. APOLOGY.

We know, though we differ something in Religion, the truth of which, let the last day judge, yet none can agree with your

inclination, or are fitter for your converse then we; for as we have as much birth among us as *England* can boast of, so our breeding leans your way both in Court and Camp. And therefore had not our late Sufferings united us in that firm tie, yet our like humors must needs have joyned our hearts. If we erre, pity our condition, and remember what your great Ancestors were; and make some difference between us that have twice converted *England* from Paganism, and those other Sects that can challenge nothing but intrusion for their imposed Authority.

## ANSWER. XVI.

*He says, he aggrees with me in all that is truly Catholick, and differs only in what we have innovated: he respects our breeding, but suspects whatever leans to forreign jurisdiction. 'Tis a slam that we have twice converted* England; *and that sure we mean it has been twice converted by persons sent from* Rome; *which we will never perswade any one to believe, that has tasted Church-History, without our Fathers chewing it for him. But supposing this true, he asks whether we wouldt infer, that because they received good from the Primitive Christian*

*of that place, they must lay themselves open to receive any ill, that may happen to them from their dangerous Successours.*

## REPLY XVI.

Concerning his saying, that he agrees with me in all that is truly Catholick, I kiss his hands, for so said *Jacob Behmen*, and so I dare say will Mr. *Woodcock*, this being the old Song of all *Hereticks*. I have proved before, that forreign Jurisdiction in Spirituals may well agree in all Governments; and no Kingdoms have been more happy at home, or glorious abroad, then when the Pope was their Spiritual Pastor.

But methinks my Gentleman might have acknowledged tha the last Conversion at least was Popish, it being performed *Ann.* 596. in the *time of Pope Gregory*, whom *Fox* calls *the basest of all his Predecessours*; and it was done also by *Austin* a [b] *Monck*, which very name is enough to tell a Protestant, the Missioner was Popishly perswaded. Moreover, this *Austin* survived his Master *Gregory*, and consequently was according to Fox (*who dreames that he lived in England* 16. *yeares*) not only obedient to *Boniface* the 3. (the Great Antichrist) but made his Companion *Lawrence* his [c] Successour, who had

[a] A & Mon. p. 107.

[b] Speed, p. 347.

[c] Stovv. p. 67.

the like veneration for Popes, though they then ſtiled themſelves *Univerſal Biſhops* as all Proteſtants affirme; nor did ever *Canterbury* deny the Roman Sea, till *Cranmer* in the time of *Hen.* 8.

If any man yet ſhall not think *Auſtin Papiſt* enough, let him read St. *Beds* Hiſtory, or rather ſome Proteſtants about it, among which let *J. Bale an Apoſtate Frier* be one, who will tell you, *That Auſtin was ſent to convert the Saxons to a Popiſh Faith, and that he taught falſe Doctrine, and minded more the getting oblations for Maſſes, then the Preaching of the Goſpel.* Yet *Fox*, though he call St. *Auſtin* Phariſaical, ſays, nevertheleſſ, that thoſe *Miſſioners did Miracles before King* Ethelbert.

[b] Defc. Brit. fol 35.

[c] Act. Mon. p. 105.

For the Converſion under King *Lucius*, all Reformed Hiſtorians confeſſ that Pope *Eleutherius* ſent *Damianus* and *Fugatius* (two Miniſters forſooth as *Heylin* calls *them*) who preacht Chriſt to the *Britains*. No man can doubt then, if theſe were ſent from *Rome*, but that they taught the Faith of *Rome*. Now when *Auſtin* (whom you ſee the Proteſtants already confeſſ Popiſh) came to convert the *Saxons*, he had conference with *Dinoth* the Abbot, and ſeveral

[d] Heyl. p. 469.

veral of the *Monks* at *Bangor*, who ſtill preſerved Chriſtian Religion among the *Britiſh*. In all their Diſpute we finde no debate but about the *Cuſtomes of the Church*; nor did *Auſtin* demand of them any more, *then the*[a] *alteration in keeping of* Eaſter, *and ſome Ceremonies in Baptiſm*: but had there been any difference in Faith, and doctrine (as Speed[b] ſayes poſitwely *there was none*) Hiſtorians would not have failed to remember that, ſeeing they take notice of things of leſſ moment: and beſides, every body knows how ſcrupulous the *Church was in Doctrine*, having condemned the *Arrians*, *Eutychians*, *Neſtorians* and the like, for ſome things which to ordinary and humane capacities ſeemed but meer niceties.

[a] Stovv. p. 66.

[b] Sp. p. 348.

This then proves plainly that *Auſtin* the Popiſh Monck (who alſo according to [b]*Hollingshead infected us with the poyſon of Romiſh Errours*) preacht no other Doctrine then what the *Britiſh* had received afore: but the the *Britiſh*, according to *Fox* and others of our Proteſtant Authors, were the uncorrupt preſervers of Gods word, having received from their King *Lucius*, who lived about 180. years after Chriſt. Let any man therefore judge, who are moſt Primative, & whe-

[b] Pag. 195. K. Iohn.

ther he that has the face to deny *that Papists twice converted* England, would not also deny our Saviour, were it as much for his advantage as we see this to be.

## SECT. XVII. APOLOGY.

But it is generally said, That Papists cannot live without persecuting all other Religions within their reach.

We confess, where the name of Protestant is unknown, the Catholick Magistrates (believing it erronious) do use all endeavours to keep it out. Yet in those Countreys where Liberty is given, they have far more Priviledges then we under any Reformed Government whatsoever. To be short, we will only instance *France* for all, where they have publick Churches, where they can make what Proselytes they please, and where it is not against Law to be in any charge or Imployment. Now *Holland*, which permits every thing, gives us 'tis true our Lives and Estates, but takes away all Trust and Rule, and leaves us also in danger of the Scout, whensoever he pleases to molest our Meetings.

## ANSWER XVII.

*He says, That what is generally said of Popish*

*Popish perſecutions, is alſo generally believed; and that I anſwer deceitfully, in mentioning thoſe Countreys only where the name of Proteſtant is unknown, and no liberty given them; but omit thoſe where it is known, and no liberty given; as in* Flanders *now, and in* England *when it was Catholick. I inſtance, he ſays, in* France, *becauſe I could find no other place; but I ſhould have conſidered how the Edicts of the Proteſtants liberty were obtained, and how they are obſerved. But if the Edicts were obſerved, he ſays it is no argument, that becauſe a Liberty not againſt the Laws is allowed them, it ſhould be granted us againſt the Law. The Papiſts in* Holland, *he ſays, lent the chief help to fling of the* Spaniſh *yoak, and therefore deſerve more then we, who would have brought it on our Country again.*

## REPLY XVII.

I could not imagine the Miniſter would have diſcover'd ſo great a Truth: for now, Reader, you ſee that he confeſſes that whatſoever is ſaid of Papiſts is generally believed. How are Papiſts traduced! What Stories are told of Popes! How many things of the whole body of Papiſts! and all taken for Goſpel, as the adverſary himſelf acknowledges.

ges. This people are possest with a horrour of Qu. *Mary's* days, as if all were really true; and yet, as I have treated before, there has been more bloud Judicially spilt about Religion by those that have excluded the Pope, then has been by Papists from the Conversion of the Nation to its fall. What does the Minister mean by Protestants known, and no liberty given? *Italy* and *Spain* know Protestants; nay, the Turk himself knows them, and is obliged to the disturbances made by *Luther* and his fellows in *Germany*. For were the Government of that Country united, an not so *rent into factions with diversities of Religions* (as *Sir *Edwin Sandys* observes) *breeding endless jealousies, heart-burnings and hatred, it needed no other help to affront the Great Turk, and to repulse all his forces, to the security of Christendom.* This therefore was one of the advantages which the Reformation brought.

*Sir Ed. S. p. 170

Certainly I spoke plain enough, and that without deceit, *viz.* Where the name of Protestant is unknown, (that is, where it has not been yet planted) the Catholike Magistrates take care to keep it out: But where their number or rebellion has moved their natural Prince to grant them terms, in those

thoſe places I ſay they live with more liberty then Catholikes under any Proteſtant Government. *Flanders*, was never compelled to let the Reformed have extraordinary priviledges; Nevertheleſſe there are many Proteſtants in that Province, and particularly in the *Wallon Countries*: nor have they their Miniſters hanged, though theſe places are under the obedience of the moſt Catholike King. What reaſon has the Miniſter to ſay I could name no other Country But *France*, where Proteſtants have open Churches? has he forgot *Poland*, even *Crakaw it ſelf, where theire Orthodox Socinian Cathechiſm was made*? Let him alſo think on *Hungary*, both which are Popish Kingdoms, under Popish Kings. Nay, in *Piedmont* it ſelf they have open Churches; yet a man may legally be hanged in *England*, if he have but a private Chappel. Beſides this, Reader, there is much difference between Papiſts and Proteſtants, becauſe all Countries were poſſeſt by us, and the Reformed had no pretence to Government, (except in *England*, and in a ſmall Province or two in *Germany*) but what they got by Rebellion. Therefore, as a man that is turned out of his houſe by a ſtranger, may expect more then the ſtranger

being dispossest can do from the right owner: so *Papists* may justly expect more liberty from Protestants, then they can upon any pretence from *Papists*; yet *Protestants* live to this day freer in Catholique Kingdoms, then we do under them: For *Protestants* may have employment in *Poppish* Countreys, but *Papists* are debarred from Offices in all Countries, I except none, that are of the Reformed Faith.

I know not what the Minister would be at, that the Low-Country *Papists* were the chief cause why the *Spanish* yoak was thrown off. 'Tis true, there were many factious Catholikes there at that time stirr'd up by the insinuation of the Reformed, as Saints enflame honest men now adays. Yet for all this not only the first insurrections & tumults were (according to [a] *Strada*) *acted by the Calvinists at Tournay, Lisle, and Valencien*; but also in the year 1581 (as the [b] *Protestant* Author of *Europæ Modernæ Speculum* will tell you) *by a publick Instrument they declard their King Philip to have rightfully fallen from the Dominion of those Provinces, then united under the profession of the Reformed Religion*: neither would they ever afterwards suffer the *Papists* to have any share in the Government,

[a] Strad. transl. l. 3. p. 61.
[b] Eur. Mod. Spec. p. 85.

ent, for fear they should bring all things back again to their true Lord an Master. But now suppose, *Reader*, I had not proved the *Dutch* villany by the testimony of a Writer of the *Protestant Religion*, I hope 'tis no excuse to their Rebellion, though some *Papists* did by accident facilitate their work: For if so, then *the Murther of Charles the First by the Independents, and their erecting a Government without King or Lords, were not Rebellion, because the whole body of the Presbyterians began the play*; which afterwards (but 'twas too late) they seemed to detest, and openly to exclaim against.

How the Edicts of *France* were obtained, you shall hear in this next Section.

## SECT. XVIII. APOLOGY.

Because we have named *France*, the Massacre will perchance be urged against us. But the World must know that was a Cabinet-Plot, condemned as wicked by Catholick Writhers there, and of other Countries also. Besides, it cannot be thought they were murthered for being Protestants, since 'twas their powerful Rebellion (let their Faith have been what it would) that drew them in to that ill-machinated destruction.

## ANSWER XVIII.

*Here he ſays the* French *Maſſacre was ſo horrid a cruelty, that* Thuanus *tells us, That conſidering men, and having turned over the Annals of Nations, he could find no example for it in Antiquity; that it was cloakt with ſhews of Amity, and a Marriage between the Houſes of* Valois *and* Burbon, *to which the chief Proteſtants being invited, were after their jollity of mirth, in the dead of night butchered in their Houſes, without diſtinction of Sex or Age, till the channels ran with blood, none eſcaping but the Bridegroom: and the Prince of* Conde, *who were afterwards the one poyſoned, the other ſtab'd by men of our Religion. He proceeds, that this which I ſay was condemned by Catholick Writers, was alſo extolled as glorious by others of them; and that one may gueſs at my meaning, and that I am of their ſentiment, ſince firſt I call it a Cabinet-Plot (a fine ſoft word for the Butchery of* 30000. *perſons.) Secondly, in anſwer to them that call it murther, I ſeem to blame it as done by halves, in terming it an ill-machinated deſtruction. Laſtly, in ſaying, that it was their Rebellion drew it on them, let their Faith have been what it would; when indeed it was their Faith, let their Obedience have been what id would: for the King never had better*

Sub-

*Subjects then those that were Massacred, nor worse Rebels then the Massacrers. Then he tells us, that the brave* Coligni *was the first killed, and his head was sent to* Rome, *and his Body dragged about* Paris; *and besides, he says, that the Duke of* Guises *factious Authority (as I sweetly stile it) was a black Rebellion; and to decide whether they were massacred for Protestant Religion or Rebellion, because both himself and I may be partial, he desires to take judges between us.*

*To make it appear it was not for Rebellion they were massacred, he cites K.* James, who says, I could never learn by any good and true intelligence, that in *France* those of the Religion took Arms against their King. In the first Civil War they stood only upon their Guard, &c.

*To prove that they were massacred for their Religion (since I will admit no judge but the Pope) he undertakes to shew us that it was his judgment, from* Thuanus, *a Catholick Writer, who tells us, The Pope having an account of the Massacre, read the Letter in the Consistory, there decreed to go directly to St.* Marks, *and solemnly give thanks for so great a blessing conferred on the Roman Sea, and the Christian World: That soon after a Jubilee should be publisht throughout the whole Chri-*

*ſtian World; and theſe cauſes were expreſt for it*, viz. *To give thanks to God for deſtroying in* France *the Enemies of the Truth and of the Church: That in the evening the Guns were fired at St.* Angelo, *Bonfires made, and all things performed uſual in the greateſt Victories of the Church: That ſome days after, there was a ſolemn Proceſſion to St.* Louis, *and an Inſcription ſet over the Church-door by the Cardinal of* Lorrain, *to congratulate his Holineſſ and the Colledge in the Kings name, for the ſtupendious effects and incredible events of their Counſels given him, and of their aſſiſtance ſent, and of their twelve years wiſhes and prayers. Soon after, he ſays, the Pope ſent Cardinal* Urſini *to congratulate the King, to commend and bleſſ them that had to do in the Maſſacre, and to perſwade the reception of the Councel of* Trent, *by this Argument; That the memory of the late glorious action (to be magnified in all ages, as conducing to the Glory of God and Dignity of the Holy Roman Church) might be ſealed by the approbation of the Holy Synod; for ſo it would be manifeſt, that the King conſented to the deſtruction of ſo many, not of hatred or revenge, but ardent deſire to propagate the Glory of God (which could not be expected while the Proteſtants ſtood) through*

*all*

*all the Provinces of* France. *The Answerer then concludes this Paragrah with commending the Head of the Church for his judgment in cutting throats, & not mincing the matter like me (whom he is pleased to call an* English *limb of him) who durst not say what I desired, for fear of provoking the Protestants; nor what the thing deserved, for contradicting the Pope.*

## REPLY XVIII.

Can *Thuanus*, or any man else, look upon that action with more horrour then I? Certainly no: yet, Reader, I must tell you, *Thuanus* is esteemed as malitiously partial a Writer as ever undertook the writing of a History. Nay, *Heylin* (that other *Hanibal*, that sworn enemy of *Rome*) says, That *"Thuanus favours more of the party, then of the Historian.* Now for his professing to be a Catholick, it adds nothing to his Authority, because in every Religion there are those that write out of spleen and Faction. To a stranger abroad, *Milton* would go for a *Protestant*, because he calls himself so; yet in his Books the true matter of Fact is so perverted by his malice, that it becomes at last as false, as the rest of those damnable lies, with which his Papers are stufft. But though *Thuanus* be

"Heyl. p. 71.

thus

thus reputed, yet this Minister will pervert the Divel himself to do us a mischief. He has told us that the Pope ordered a Jubilee through Christendom, to give God thanks for destroying in *France* the Enemies of the Church; by which he would have the Reader believe, that the Massacre was the cause of this Jubilee; when as [a] *Thuanus* tells us, *That the Jubilee was to thank God for the Victory at* Lepanto *against the* Turk, *for the success of* Spain *against the Rebels in* Belgium, *and to beseech God for the election of a Catholick King in* Poland; *as well as for the business in* France. But truly, I need not complain, for *such Preachers of Gods word* may say any thing (so it discredit the Papists) let it be never so improbable in it self.

[a] Th. p. 1065.

For my part I can believe not, that the Pope and Consistory (who are by Protestants reputed dexterous and subtle) would make publike Procession and Triumph for Murther in cold blood, which could bring them no farther good (for the advantages were already obtained) but might occasion much scandal, which, by reason it was the cause of *Luthers* revolt, was the more carefully to be avoided for the future. It may be they were not sorry in their hearts: For what

what men are ſo at the death of their Enemies? Yet we ſee often, that thoſe which have a titillation the thing being done, would nevertheleſs looſe rather their own lives, then give the leaſt conſent to the fact. *Davila* tells us in one place of his Fifth Book, *That the King and Queen-Mother contrived the deſtruction of the Rebels; and communicated their deſign only to the Duke of Anjou, the Guiſes, and the Count of Rhetz*, and this reſolution to Maſſacre, we ſee there was, a pretty *while before Pius V. died.* In another place of this Book; I *find this Pope died ſome three months before the execution.* In another place of this Book I find that *this Pope would never conſent to the marriage of Margaret to the King of Navar, by reaſon of his Religion*; and yet in the time of this Marriage Ch. 9. had determined this Butchery: Therefore putting all this together, it was plain the Pope had no hand in the wicked contrivance. *Gregory* 13. who ſucceeded, and before whoſe Election this Maſſacre was deſigned, was at laſt brought to diſpence with the Match, it being made appear to him how dangerous it might be in thoſe Schiſmatical times, if the King ſhould in anger ſolemnize the Marriage without leave; for ſo this *a King had* [a] Dav. l. 5.

had threatned the aforesaid Pius V. and daily gave more symptoms of his resolution in the Wedding, and anger for being contradicted in it at *Rome*.

Reader, We have no other way to discover the errors of Historians, but by conjectures, after we have compared times and circumstances. The reasons that I have therefore last mentioned, assure me that the Pope had no hand in the design: yet suppose he had been of the Plot with the King, as 'tis plain he was not, I am sure that can be no excuse to the *Hugonots* for their former Rebellion, and unspeakable abominations, as you shall presently see. But let the Pope have what design he would, 'tis still evident (*according to the Apology*) that the King and Queen-Mother (who could only perform this Murther) were moved to this Massacre for *Interest of State, and not Religion*. For the King was not such a Bigot or Pious man, upon a Spiritual account to draw such a hazard, or at least a scandal on his own person: and for the Queen-Mother (that great Intriguer) she valued Religion little; for sometimes she favoured Protestants, sometimes again persecuted them: Nay, when it was for her advantage, she gave great and

ſuſpitious ſigns *that ſhe would be of the Reformed Religion alſo*, as may be ſeen in *Davila* in the ſecond Book.

My Miniſter will not perchance be yet ſatisfied that I call it a Cabinet-Plot, but ſays *they died for their Religion*, and that the King had not better Subjects then thoſe that were maſſacred. *Brave Coligni* being the firſt that fell. Now, Reader, that you may ſee what kind of Subject our Miniſter is (and ſuch a one I always doubted him) I will briefly ſhew you how theſe *Hugonots* behaved themſelves, among whom *Colignii* was a Principal, and who is honoured with the title of *Brave*, by this moſt Loyal Parſon.

In the time of *Francis* the Firſt *Calvin* appeared, and dedicated his *Inſtitutions* to him. The preaching of this man pleaſed the changeable humor of many *French*; but the Sect was kept under by the King, and eſpecially by his Son *Hen.* 2. who like wiſe Governours were unwilling to let an unheard-of Religion get root in their Country, well knowing that Rebellion would follow, as afterwards it happened to the purpoſe. *Francis* the 2. ſucceeded *Hen.* who was althogether governed by the Houſe of *Guiſe*, by reaſon of the great power they had in the

late Kings Reign, and more especially now, because the Queen-Consort was the glorious *Mary* of *Scotland*, daughter to the Sister of this ambitious Duke. The House of *Burbon* (being the first Princes of the Blood) were greatly troubled they had no interest in affairs, and tried all manner of ways to get into play. The Prince of *Conde* (a hot-headed man) seeing he could not ruine the *Guises* by ordinary means, calls all his partizãs together (among whom *Coligni* was the Chief) to *la Ferte* an Apennage of his, and there he told them, *they must take Arms* to free themselves from the slavery they were in by the ruling Party. The fiery youth were all of the Princes opinion, to begin the War without delay: But, *Brave Coligni* (as the Minister calls him) replied, *That this were to ruine them all, seeing that though their pretences were fair, yet few of the Nation would follow them; and on the other side, all forreign Princes were in amity with* France *by the late agreement of the Kings Father. If they had a mind*, he *said*, *to do their business home*, *the sole way were to pretend Religion*, *which in it self had an honourable appearance*; *and besides*, *the* Calvinists *in* France *were many*, *hating the* Guises, *and wanting only a Head*; *nor would*

*would the Princes of* Germany *or* Q. Elizabeth *fail to assist them on this score, which otherwise could not be done on any account.*

Thus the *Brave man* not only consented to *Rebellion*, but put them in a holy method effectually to perform it. All the Assembly applauded the Counsel of this *Achitophel*, and there-upon *Andelot* his Brother (*a most turbulent man*) and the Vicedame of *Chartres* (*rich and debauch*) were apponted to execute their determinations. The manner of the Plot was this: To get a great company of unarmed *Hugonots* to go to Court, and there clamour for Liberty of Conscience, and free Temples: these poor men (they imagined) should presently be ill treated by the Duke of *Guise*; whereupon the Protestant Souldiers (which for that purpose they were to provide) would immediately come to their assistance; and under pretence that the *Hugonots* were abused, they might fall on the Court, and wholly destroy their Enemies. Besides this, 'twas reported, that in the disorder the King and his three Brethren were to be made away, and God knows whether this last part were not as true as the first, seeing after the death of these Children, the House of *Bourbon* (Heads of the

design) should succeed in the Throne.

But now see how far the Conspiracy succeeded: The Provinces were divided to several of the most considerable in each division, who were to make ready their Levies against the 15. of *March* 1560. at *Blois*, a Town unfortified, where then the Court resided. *Godfry de la Barre* (*a Gentleman of Perigort, who had left his Country by reason of forgery in a Law-suit and turned Calviniſt*) was made Commander in Chief; and according to their success, the Prince, Admiral, and the rest would order affairs. The Kings Councel, having at last notice of this, carries the King without noise to *Amboise*, the better to secure him on a sudden, with the present little force they had in readiness. On the day appointed the Conspirators come, and finding the King gone, follow him to *Amboise*, and assault the Castle; which being too strong to be presently their's, they were by the Mareschal of St. *Andrew*, and others wholly defeated and taken. Upon this trayterous attempt, the King summons an Assembly of the Nobles at *Fountain-Bleau*, where the *brave Coligni* grave the King a Paper, and said, *That the Protestants* (hearing by his Majesties Edict, that every Subject

ject might make known his Grievance in this Assembly) *did present that Petition to him; & though it were not signed, yet when his Majesty pleased, it should be by* 150000. *hands.* The Assembly, for all this arrogance, advised against a Toleration; but the *Hugonots* encouraged by these proceedings, rose in Arms in several places, and filled the Court with complaints of their many insolencies; and on the other side, the Prince with his Complices set upon *Lyons.* After this the three Estates met at *Orleans*, where the Prince was condemned to be executed and in this disorder the King died.

*Charles* the 9 was about eleven years old when he began his Reign; so that in his minority (the faction of the Protestants being so great) the Prince was acquitted, and liberty granted for publike preaching. Then the Hugonots became so insolent, that *they massacred many people in Paris, burnt the Church of St.* Medard, *rifled Monasteries, and committed many such exorbitances.* The Prince would have seised on the Kings Person at *Fountain-Bleau*, but the Duke of *Guise* got the King of *Navar* (first Prince of the Blood, and prime Commander of State) to bring him and the Queen-Regent to *Pa-*

*ris;*

ris; which when the Prince of *Conde* underſtood, and ſaw himſelf defeated of his deſign, he told *brave Coligni*, that he had plunged himſelf ſo deep, *that now he muſt drink or drown*; and thereupon attackt *Orleans* and took it, uſing all the inhumane barbarities that can be thought of. After this (as Rebels are accuſtomed) a Manifeſto is ſet out, *That he took up Arms to free the King's Perſon from the ſlavery in which the Catholick Lords held him.* This was directed to the Parliament; who again anſwered, *That they wondered how it could be ſaid, the King was priſoner, being in his own Capital City, of which* Charles *of* Bourbon *the Princes own Brother was Governour; where was preſent the King of* Navar *Chief Adminiſtrator of the Kingdom, where the Parliament ſat; and in fine, where all the great Officers of the Crown reſided.*

But why do I go to the particulars of this notorious Rebellion? To be ſhort, *brave Coligni*'s own words (a little before his death) will ſufficiently declare how great a Traytor he was; for juſt before the Marriage (like another *Nebuchadnezzar* in his pride) he ſaid to ſome of his confidents, *That neither* Alexander *nor* Cæſar *could be compared to him,*

*him, because Fortune was their friend, but that he had lost four Battles, yet by his wit, he still became more formidable to his Enemies.* If then this brave man, that began the Rebellion, as you have heard, that lost four Battels against his Prince, that seised on so many Towns, that disswaded Peace so often when desired, and that did so many infamous actions all along, shall pass and not be thought a Rebel, then I will aver there was never Rebel since the Creation of the World. The things, Reader, which I have here laid down, you many find dispersed in the first five Books of *Davila*'s History, who is an Author thought by Protestants so *Authentick and so impartial* (sparing no body of what Rank or Faction soever) that among Historians none hath a clearer fame.

Having given you a short account how these Potent *Hugonots* plagued these two Kings, be pleased now to tell me, whether it was not *their powerful Rebellion* (*let their Religion have been what it would*) *that drew them into this ill-machinated destruction.* And by the way, see how simple the cavil of this Minister is, who says, I call it *ill-machinated*, because it was done by halves. The action was wicked, and a *Cabinet-Plot*, or

else there is no such thing in Nature: neither did it want condemning by several famous Catholiques themselves, who would doubtless have been silent, had the Pope so publickly rejoyced at the news, as the Minister would fain have us believe.

The King in Vindication of the cruelty laid to his charge, gives these Reasons to the World: *That though every body saw how horribly the Rebels had used him, yet it was not his design to Massacre so many* Hugonots, *but only to cut off some Heads of the Party, who so highly fomented the Sedition: this made him cause* Coligni *to be shot, the chief Rebel of the all; but the bullet only breaking his arm, his Partizans grew to such a rage, that they threatned a present War, and destruction to him and his; therefore he was necessitated to what he did, viz. immediately to destroy those that had vowed his ruine.* Now to demonstrate that is was not his intention, the Kings friends farther said, *That had he intended a general Massacre from the beginning, it had been folly to* [a] *shoot the Admiral so many days before the total execution, because this would have alarmed the Party, and given occasion to many to get away as in truth not a few did, the day before the bloody night.*

[a] The Admiral was shot four days before the Massacre Davila.

Rea-

Reader, I know not whether this Declaration of the King be true or not; but this I am sure, the action was unchristian, though there were never greater Rebels then these *Hugonots*: for they not only fought many Battles with their Prince, and fortified many of his Towns against him; but besides all this, brought forreign Forces into *France*, as *Ruyters from Germany*, and *English from us*; and because all things are lawful to the Saints, they delivered up *Havre de Grace* to Queen *Elizabeth*, by which we had a new footing in *France*, even we, the profest enemies of the Nation. Nay, they began first to [a] *Massacre Catholiques in Paris*; and also *Coligni and Beza got Poltrot to murther the Duke of* [b] *Guise*, father to him that was Killed at *Blois*. This the Assassine openly confest at his death, being after executed for the fact. By force then, and such tricks, tyring out their Kings, they got several Priviledges and Edicts: but God send me and my Relations to live for ever in servitude, rather then to obtain liberty by such strange and dissalowable courses. And truly, I doubt not (since this Minister can justifie these Agreements) but he would, if the Four Bills had passed at the Isle of *Wight*,

[a] Dav. lib. 2.

[b] Dav. lib. 3.

vindicate the proceedinghs, and cite those Acts with as much confidence, as if they had been obtained without Force in time of Peace and quiet. Had King *James* lived in our days, and seen how the same pretences with those of the *Hugonots*, viz. *Conscience, and the Liberty of the Subject*, had like to have ruined his Family, I do believe they would have found small comfort from any Vindication of his. I do therefore openly affirm, that if any Englishman (who has considered the villany of our times) does still justifie *Brave Coligni* and his *Hugonots*, he has either been an apparent Rebel, or is so in his heart, and will shew his Teeth upon the first advantage that shall be offered.

## SECT. 19. APOLOGY.

May it not as well be said in the next Catholick Kings Reign, that the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal (Heads of the League) were killed for their Religion also? Now no body is ignorant, that 'twas their factious Authority, which made the jealous Prince design their deaths, though by unwarrantable means.

## ANSWER XIX.

*He says the* Guises *were not killed for their Religion*

*Religion, for they were killed by one of their own Religion, as much bent againſt Proteſtants as they. That Papiſts hated* Hen. 3. *only for ſparing the Blood of Proteſtants, and not declaring his Proteſtant Heir uncapable of Succeſſion. That for theſe cauſes the* Guiſes *by the Popes conſent (who calls them the* Macchabees *of the Church) entred into the Holy League, and called in the* Spaniards *and* Savoyards *to maintain War againſt him, and deprive him of his Kingdom and Life. Whereupon the jealous Prince, as I favourably call him, dealt with them, as they had done with the Proteſtants. But their caſe, he ſays, was ſo different from the Proteſtants, that he wonders I ſhould mention it.*

*Then he tells us, the Pope excommunicated the King for this action, and gave nine years Indulgence to his Subiects to fight againſt him, foretelling, as a Pope might do without Aſtrology, that ere long he ſhould come to a fearful end; and this he ſays hapned: for the Subjects earned the Indulgence, and a* Frier *fulfilled the Propheſie. This action the Pope in a Speech called the work of God, and (for its wonderfulneſs) compared it with the Incarnation or Reſurrection; preferring his courage before* Eleazars *or* Iudiths, *and declaring the King (who profeſt he died in*

*the Faith of the* Roman *Catholick Church) to have died in the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. Laſtly, He asks, whether it may not be ſaid, Papiſts cannot live without perſecuting Proteſtats, who a Popish King is ſtab'd and damned for not perſecuting them enough.*

## REPLY 19.

Here is a great deal of cry, and little wool; for I have often ſaid, the Pope may have his frailties, as well as other men; and does not the Miniſter know he is a Temporal Prince alſo, and in that capacity may have intrigues with his Neighbours? What is this to our Religion, more then if the King of *Spain* should make uſe of the Politicks too far? Again, if the Pope as our Archbishop (all Countries being in his Province) should commit humane indiſcretions, Why were we to be more blamed for it, then *Durham*, *Cheſter* and *Carliſle* ought to be for their Religion, becauſe their Metropolitan *Williams* joyned with the Rebels againſt King *Charles* of happy Memory?

I never approved the procedure of the *Guiſes* in their League, and have always ſaid they were moſt inſolent Miniſters of State to *Hen.* 3. but when the Duke and Cardinal were

were murthered at *Blois* by the King, their Succeſſors learnt of the *Hugonots* to run into a formal and open War. And truly, my inference, I conceive, was pertinent concerning the Maſſacre of the one, and murther of the other, though the Parſon thinks it ſomething ſtrange. For in this Example the *Outers and the Outers* ( the *Hugonots and Guiſes* ) were killed by their Kings. Now ſince both Parties were prodigious in power, able to cope with the Prince; 'twould be as ridiculous to ſay, that ( becauſe the *Hugonots* were deſtroyed ) they *ſuffered for their Faith*, as that the Heads of the League *were killed for their Religion.*

*Davila* tells us, That the Pope only *refuſed to abſolve* Henry *the* Third, *ſaying, that he could not be contrite for killing a Cardinal, ſince he kept another ſtill in priſon.* Nor does this famous Author ſay any thing of giving nine years Indulgence to his Subjects that ſhould fight againſt him; and yet if the Pope had done ſo, he muſt anſwer for his own actions to God Almighty, and not all the Members of the Catholique Church.

But why does this poor Miniſter continually harp upon *James Clement*, whom the Divel had ſeduced for this work? The Miniſter

would

would have called me worse then a *Turk* (as he has already done) if I should lay at his door the actions of *Hugh Peters, who was as I think ordained*, at least as bad as he were. Concerning the Popes Speech, you must know, Reader, that it was a thing forged (as *Torsi* says) and never heard of but at *Paris*, some Grandees having hopes thereby to animate their Party, and others a design to defame the See of *Rome*: and if you consider it, you will find the Pope had no reason to rejoyce at, but much to lament the death of this Prince. For *Henry* the Third was always a most firm son of the Church, and easily brought again to whatever could be desired. But when he was gone, an apparent *Hugenot* was to succeed, whom though for the present they might think they were able to deal with, yet necessarily at best there would be a perpetual distraction among them; and besides, wise men know, that accidents are common in such cases; and to be sure, the least success on *Henry* the *Fourth*'s side, would have ruined the Popes interest. To his Conclusion I have answered before sufficiently, *viz.* That Protestants live better under Papist Governments, then Papists do under theirs: therefore, I say again, who

the

the Perſecutors are, let the World judge.

## SECT. 20. APOLOGY.

If it were for Doctrine that the *Hugonots* ſuffered in *France*, this haughty Monarch would ſoon deſtroy them now, having neither Force nor Towns to reſiſt his Might and Puiſſance. They yet live free enough, being even Members of Parliament, and may convert the Kings Brother too, if he thinks fit to be ſo. Thus you may ſee how well Proteſtants live in a Popiſh Country under a Popiſh King: Nor was *Charlemaign* more Catholick then this; for though he contends ſometimes with the Pope, 'tis not of Faith, but about *Gallicane* Priviledges, which perchance he may very lawfully do. Iudge then, Worthy Patriots, who are the beſt-uſed, and conſider our hardſhip here in *England*, where 'tis not only a Fine for hearing Maſs, but death to the Maſter for having a Prieſt in his houſe; and ſo far we are from preferment, that by Law we cannot come within ten miles of *London*; all which we know your great Mercy will never permit you to exact.

## ANSWER XX.

*Here he denies the conſequence, That if the*

Hugonots *then suffered for Doctrine, this haughty Monarch would soon destroy them now: for he says, he may persecute and not destroy them, or destroy them, but not so soon. Nor is this Monarch, he says, as Catholick as* Charlemaign; *for if he were, he would be Patron of all Bishopricks in his Empire, make the Pope know the difference between a Prelat and an Emperor, and not chop Logick about* Gallicane *Priviledges: he would also call a Councel (as* Charlemaign *ded against Image-Worship) to separate errours from the Faith. This he says were a good way to destroy the* Hugonots, *by taking away the causes of strife; but any other way he cannot, without violation of his Laws. Then he says, we complain of hardships we feel not, and insult over the* Hugonots, *who would mend their condition with changing with us. Popish Peers, he says, sit in English Parliaments, as well as Protestants in French. That we have as free access to our Kings Brother, as they to theirs: and, that he knews not what we would have, unless we would Catechise his Highness, as the Abbot did the Duke of* Gloceſter. *He concludes, That we complain of those Laws we never knew executed, and which, I say, I know never will be. But the Laws, he says,*

were

*were made to guard the lives of our Princes against our Trayterous practices.*

## REPLY XX.

I must here again, Reader, desire your judgment, whether this consequence in the Apology, be not as natural as can be; *viz.* If the *Protestants* suffered for Doctrine (when by reason of their strength it was dangerous to disturb them) then doubtless, this haughty Monarch (being as much a *Papist* in Faith as any of his Ancestors) would soon destroy them now, *having neither Force nor Town to resist his might and puissance.* Certainly, this is as impertinent a cavil, as his insisting upon *Charlemagn*, who was Emperour as well as King of *France*; and therefore had more Authority, then if he had been but a single Monarch. Besides, I wonder he should urge him as Quarreller with the Pope, being as great a friend as ever that Sea had. For he gave to it the *Exarchate of Ravenna*, the *Marca Anconitana*, and the *Dukedome of* Spoleto, which are the greatest part of the Church-Lands in *Italy*. All the power the ancient *Cæsars* had, I know not; if it were great, I wish they had never parted with it; but what they have granted, I think now as truly belongs to the

*Pope*, as any *Priuiledges* that Towns or Royalty's can call theirs, by the Gracious concessions of our famous Princes.

How shameless is this man, that can say, the *Hugonots* would mend their condition by changing with us? and yet he cannot deny they have all the advantages before mentioned. How prettily also (after his usual manner) doth he pervert my meaning, in saying, we have free access to his Highness; for my Argument runs thus: That the *Hugonots* may convert the Kings Brother without any prejudice to them by Law; when as it is death to a Catholique to pervert (as they call it) the meanest of his Majesties Subjects. But God send the King may never find more unfaithful Servants then such; nor the Duke those that shall wish him worse then the worthy Abbot, whom he is pleased to mention. He has a fling also at me, because the Catholique Peers sit in the House, which is quite besides the thing I urged. For I said, the *Hugonots* must needs think they live happily, enjoying not only their Religion in publike, but also being capable of any manner of Employment, even to be chosen Members of the three Estates, nor is there any Parliament of *Fran-*

ce, but has many of their Religion in it. On the contrary, Catholikes are born with an incapacity of Employment, like the Villains as it were in Ancient times, who had no propriety in the Kingdom. If some few Lords sit in their House, 'tis not any favour the Nobility bear to Popery, but because they have gravely considered, that it would be wonderful injustice to turn out a Party for difference in Religion!, and permit other dissenters to continue. Now (seeing there are so many Opinions in the World) to turn out all, God knows upon whose Children the Lot may fall next: for the Church of *England* is no *Manna*, to relish in every palate; and some wise men also think, that a man may do very well, though he has little Disputes with this his holy Mother.

Why does this Gentleman say, we never knew the Laws executed? I am sure, there have died by these Laws at least 300 Priests, besides Laymen: and how often we have been rackt in prison, and how infinitely our Estates have suffered for our Consciences, no body, I think, is ignorant. But, I hope, the brave people of *England* will intercede for us to his Majesty, that since he (the

Messiah & only expectation of the Nation) is come, we may not feel in his days, what we suffered under *Cromwel*, even by virtue of those Acts which have been formerly made. Nor could *Osborn* a Protestant (in his Memoires) chuse but confess *That against the poor Catholiques nothing in relation to the generality remains upon due proof sufficient to justifie the severity of the Laws daily enacted & put in execution against them.*

a Hist. Mem. Q. E. p. 17.

## SECT. XXI. APOLOGY.

It has been often urged, that our misdemeanours in Queen *Elizabeths* and King *James's* time, were the cause of our punishment.

## ANSWER XXI.

*Your misdemeanors? we cry you mercy, if they were no more; but that comes next to be argued, whether they were misdemeanors or Treasons.*

## REPLY. XXI.

Reader, This is the subtlest Sophister that I ever met with; for (before this distinction) I never knew but that Treasons were misdemeanors, and therefore I think the word misdemeanour is not improper.

SECT.

## SECT. XXII. APOLOGY.

We earneſtly wish that the Party had had more patience under that Princeſs: But pray conſider (though we excuſe not their faults) whether it was not a harder Queſtion then that of *Yorck* and *Lancaſter* (the cauſe of a War of ſuch length and death of ſo many Princes) who had moſt right, Queen *Elizabeth* or *Mary Stuart*. For ſince the whole Kingdom had crowned and ſworn Allegeance to Queen *Mary*, they owned her as the legitimate daughter to *Henry* the *Eighth*; and therefore it was thought neceſſarily to follow by many, that if *Mary* was the true Child, *Elizabeth* was the Natural, which muſt needs give way to the thrice-noble Queen of Scots.

## ANSWER XXII.

*He ſays, that I wish the Catholicks had had more patience under* Q. Elizabeth; *but he thinks they needed none: for in the firſt ten years of her Reign (though what the Papiſts had done in Queen* Maries *time was fresh in memory) none of them ſuffered death till the Northern Rebellion, raiſed againſt her meerly upon the account of her Religion: 'twas she then that was perſecuted,*

*perſecuted, and had occaſion for patience, and therefore I ſhould have wisht them more Loyalty. But it appears I account Rebellion no fault, in ſaying, 'twas a hard Queſtion, whether the right lay in Queen* Elizabeth, *or the Queen of* Scots, *becauſe many thought Queen* Elizabeth *illegitimate. Here he asks, Who thought ſo? Or, when the Queſtion aroſe? For, ſays he, Firſt, Archbiſhop* Heath *a Papiſt, ſaid in his Speech, no body could doubt the juſtneſs of her Title. Secondly, the Kings of* France, Spain, *and the Emperour offered Marriage to her, and thereby hoped to get the Crown. Thirdly, the Queen of* Scots *and King* James *acknowledged her, and claimed nothing but to be her Heirs and Succeſſours. Then he tells, that* Paul *the Fourth was the Firſt that queſtioned her Title, becauſe the Kingdom being a Fee of the Papacy, ſhe had audaciouſly aſſumed it without his leave; and ſecondly, becauſe ſhe was illegitimate. But his Succeſſour* Pius *the Fourth would have owned her, if ſhe would have owned him; which becauſe ſhe would not, the next Pope* Pius *V. iſſued out his Bulls and depoſed her, not for Baſtardy, but for being a Proteſtant, upon which the Northern-men and others of her Subjects rebelled, and were every foot plotting againſt her. 'Tis true, he ſays, the Queen*

*of*

of Scots Title was pretended; but he demands what would we have done if that Queen had not been Catholick, & Queen Elizabeth not thought illegitimate? He proceeds, That Gregory the Thirteenth had occasion to consider this, having a Bastard of his own, and another of the Emperours to provide for: to the first of which he gave Ireland, and sent Stukely to win it for him; and to the other England, with leave to win it for himself. But what was this to the Q. of Scots? what (he says) might perhaps have been preferred to marry one of them; upon condition her said James might have nothing to do with the Succession. For when she was dead, and her right in King James, Sixtus V. not only took no notice of him, but curst Queen Elizabeth again, and gave her Kingdom to Philip the Second of Spain. Pope Clement the Eighth seeing he could do no good upon Queen Elizabeth (to take care another Heretick should not succeed her) sent his Breves both to Clergy and Laity, forbidding them to admit any but a Catholique to the Succession, though never so near in blood, which was in plain words to exclude King James; so that the Popes never stuck at the hard question. And now he asks, What our Country men did or suffered for it? And answers himself, that

*they acted for the Popish interest, making use of the House of* Scotland *only for a cloak, while the Title was in Queen* Mary; *but when it was in King* James, *none of them stirred or suffered for it: yet they were not idle, but as busie as Bees in contriving to hasten Queen* Elizabeths *death, and to put him by the Succession.*

*To prove this,* he *urges the* Spanish *Invasion presently after his Mothers death, negotiated and defended by Papists: That the Jesuites procured* Huntly *to rebel in* Scotland: *That they perswaded the Earl of* Darby *to set up a Title to the Crown of* England; *which he revealing, was poysoned soon after, as* Hesket *had threatned him: That when their single shot failed,* F. Parsons *gave a broad-side to the Royal House of* Scotland, *in a Book published under the name of* Doleman, *setting up divers Competitors; and to provide a sure Enemy,* he *found a Title for the Earl of Essex (to whom* he *dedicated the Book) being the most ambitious and popular man in the Nation. But* the the Book, he says, prefers *the Title of the* Infanta *before all others. Then* he *concludes from this his Discourse, in which,* he *says,* nothing material can be denied, *that it appears, That this hard Question was not between the Parties themselves, in one of*

*whom*

*whom, we confeſs, the right was. For the Pope eaſily reſolved it, who denied both ſides of the Queſtion, aſſuming the right to himſelf; and as concerning the* English *Catholiques*, he *ſays, they ſided with the Pope againſt Queen* Elizabeth *and Queen of* Scots *alſo: and laſtly, that their miſdemeanours were inexcuſable Treaſons, if any Treaſons befriended by ſuch an Apologiſt can be inexcuſable.*

## REPLY 22.

'Tis ſtrange to me, that I muſt be denied the liberty, which all people elſe have. No man is forbid to declare their pretenſions, when he ſpeaks of the commotions of a Party: yet here I am accuſed, *to think Rebellion no crime, and to excuſe their faults*, becauſe I tell you what Papiſts in thoſe days ſaid for themſelves. The Miniſter can call himſelf a Loyal Subject, and yet defend the *Hugonots*, who were the moſt notorious and inſolent Rebels that any Hiſtory can ſhew; nor had they any other pretence for the *Maſſacres and continual ravages committed by them*, but Mr. *Calvin* and Mr. *Beza*'s telling them, God ſaid thus and thus: and therefore, unleſs their reſpective Kings would ſuffer them to deſtroy a Religion in quiet poſſeſſion ſince the Reign of *Clovis*, they

a Dav. lib. 2.

would bring Armies into the field, and fortifie Towns against their Liege-Lords, as every body knows they did, till subdued in the time of *Lewis* the *XIII.* I think, good Mr. Parson, I am as well known in *England* as your self; and am sure can find more Protestants of Quality that shall engage for my Loyalty, the you can people of any sort. 'Tis not this Minister, Reader, only, but others have called my narration of the matter of fact, a questioning of Queen *Elizabeths* Title: judge you by my words in the Apology, whether it be so or no; nor could I omit in honour the Plea of the foregoing age, their misdemeanours being every day thrown in my dish.

But suppose I had questioned her Title, there is no Treasonable intention in it I am sure, because the Title of our King has no dependance upon that Princesse: nor was she the first of our Monarchs against whose right Posterity has argued. No body is blamed for saying King *Stephen* was an usurper, or that *Edward* the Fourths Title was better then that of the three preceding *Henry's*. What is't then, I beseech you (were the fact proved against me) I have committed, that *Protestant Authors have not done and worse?*

Sr. Walter Rawley in his Preface of the *History of the world* has not only ſomething to ſay againſt almoſt all the *Kings of Engld*, but *Buck in his Ric.* 3 has baſtardized Hen. 7 and all his offspring, *and thereby invalidatus their title to the Crowne either as a Yorkiſts or b Lancaſtrians*; Nor does c *Speed* refraine from queſtioning the right of moſt of our *Princes from the Conqueſt till Henry the fourth's Reigne*. Yet none of theſe have been branded with the Character of ill Subjects. 'Tis he that is to be accounted wicked, who ſedititiouſly deſcants on Titles, to breed Commotions and Diſorders.

a Buck. p. 12
b Buck. p. 44.
c Sp H. 4. p. 681.

The Miniſter ſays, I defend the calumny of thoſe Catholicks, in ſaying, 'Twas a very hard queſtion, whether the right to the Crown lay in Queen *Elizabeth*, or in the Queen of *Scots*. Reader, that which I ſaid was, That this was a harder Queſtion, then the Diſpute of *York* and *Lancaſter*, which coſt ſo much Blood and Treaſure; and becauſe I would know your opinion, I will ſtate theſe two Queſtions to you.

*York* had the intereſt of a third brother by Marriage; *Lancaſter* that of a fourth Brother; and theſe two diſpute about the Crown of *England* which women are capable of.

The second Question is this: *Henry* the eighth married his brothers wife, who was said to be a Virgin; for Prince *Arthur was but fifteene and a little more when he died.* By this Princess K. *Hen.* had our Q. *Mary*, and after he had lived with her 20 years, he fell in love with a handsome young Lady, whereupon he had in short time a scruple of Conscience that it was unlawful to live longer with his old wife, because she had been married to his brother. His Conscience being still tender, he caused the Scriptures to be searched, and found not only there the Marriage to be void, but that the Pope himself had no power in *England*; and besides, that rich Abbies were also contrary to the word of God. Being thus truly informed, he threw away Wife, Pope and Monks, and married the other, by whom he had Queen *Elizabeth*, while his first Wife lived. 'Twas thought by many curious wits, that there could be but one of the daughters legitimate, because both Mothers were contemporaries, and that to *Christians* the Scripture permits but one wife at a time. After the death of this King and his Son, 'twas put to the Kingdom to decide, which of these children were lawfully begotten: both

both Lords and Commons acknowledged *Mary* for their Queen, which was as much to say she was born in true Wedlock. Nor did *Luther himself fail to disapprove of Queen* Elizabeths *birth.* [a] Hist Mem. Q. Eliz. P. 3.

I doubt not, but the people were informed of the cause of the Kings scrupule, as also that this brother *Arthur* had never known his wife. Nay, before K. *Henry* married Queen *Katherine*, *she protested she was a Virgin and offered to be tryed by* [b] *Matrons.* The Bishop of *Ely* also [c] *deposed*, That the *Queen* (whom all, even the King himself esteemed for a Saint) *had often in confession told him, she never carnally knew the Prince.* Nor in the whole examination was there any colourable pretence produc'd, but the common vanity of all boys to be thought men before their time: *For 'twas affirmed,* Arthur *should say the next morning after Marriage, that he had been in* Spain *that night.* Besides this there were those, I believe, that told the People, that though St. *John* forbad *Herod* to take his brother *Philips* wife, *because his said Brother was then alive*, (for Josephus [d] sayes, *Herodias parted from her husband Philip in his life time, and in contempt of the lawes married Herod*) yet he never prohibited [b] L. Herb p. 7. [c] L. Herb p. 244. [d] Ios. p. 472.

hibited by those words a *Christian* to marry his sister in-law *if her Husband were dead.*

The Case being thus fancied by the Papists (in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*) they argued, that if *Mary* was the true Child, then the other was the Natural: but *Mary* was owned Legitimate: And my Lord Bacon* says *the legitimation of Queen Mary and Elizabeth were incompatible.* Ergo the Kingdom not being Elective, *Mary Stuart* (the next Legal Heir) must necessarily succeed her. Yet suppose these Papists were wrong in their conclusion, I am sure nevertheless, I am still in the right, *viz.* That it is a harder Question to resolve, whether the Marriage be Null, if a woman marries two Brothers, then whether a third or fourth brother has the better Title to the Crown; *for that was the contest betwixt* York *and* Lancaster.

* H. 7. P. 206.

But the Minister urges, if the Papists thought Queen *Elizabeth* an Usurper, why did not they stir sooner? for there was no Rebellion, he says, in ten years: and when after ten it broke out in the North, there was not the least mention made of the Q. of *Scots*, or her Title.

I wish the Catholicks had not only sat still ten years, but forty five years also; yet

to

to shew you that this Minister will be wrog in every thing, I shall give you a most succinct account of this business. Queen *Mary* of *England* in the latter part of her Reign was in [a] *open war with* France, and the Qu. of *Scots* was [b] *then Wife to the Dauphin*. This Hostility, and the private designs of *Spain*, hindred all intrigues of the Queen of *Scots* friends to secure the Succession. Things being in this condition, our Queen dies, nor did the *Dauphin* make any present claim, which together with the natural coolness of *Englishmen* to all strangers, especially the *French*, moved Archbishop *Heath* to what he did. About some six months after this, the *Dauphin* takes upon *him the Title and Armes of England*; and immediately also by the death of his Father, the Crown of *France* fell to him, which gave him the name of *Francis* the *Second*. But by that time Q. *Elizabeth* was too well setled to be deposed without blows; and before things could be ordered for such an enterprize, the *Hugonots* lay so heavy on his shoulders, that he was *necessitated to the* [d] *Treaty at* Edenburgh, *by which he was to relinquish his former pretences in relation to* England: yet before these Articles were sealed, the King himself died.

[a] Cod. Q. M. P. 316.
[b] Cod. Q. M. P. 336.
[c] Camb. 1559. P. 43. Printed 1615.
[d] Cam. 1560. P. 53.

and so all things stood as they were before. The Q. of Scots being now a widow, returns with much ado to *Scotland*, which was all in a flame, by the seditious preaching of the new Reformists. Affoon as she arrived there, (Q. *Elizabeth having often sent to her to ratifie the Treaty with her Husband*) she a after consideration returned answer, *That she was content to do so, upon condition she were by Parliament declared her Heir.* This Proposition seemed not strange to her *English* well-willers, because our Histories could tell them, That *Maud the Empress was necessitated to the like by King* Stephen. But Queen *Elizabeth* would not harken to those terms; whereupon presently *Margaret Niece to Henry the Eighth, the Earl of Lenox her husband, Arthur Pool and his Brother, Grandchildren to George Duke of Clarence, Fortescue and others, were apprehended, for intending to* b *set up the Queen of* Scots *interest.* The fact they confest; but (as all malefactors find something to extenuate their crimes) they pitcht upon the weakest excuse that ever was heard of; *viz. That they intended not to depose Queen* Elizabeth, *but to be beforehand in Arms, because Conjurers had told them she would dy that year.* After this, the vigilan-

a Camd. 1561. p. 67.

b Cam. beginning 1562. p. 72.

cy

of Q. *Elizab.* was such, and the disasters of *Scotland* so great, that the Catholiques were forc'd to sit quiet for a while. Instead of Peace with the Rebels, the Queen of *Scots* was necessitated to *seek for shelter in England*, where (had she been used as the Honour of the Nation required) she would have concluded an inviolable agreement between the Queen, and those Catholiques that stood for her Title. But when this Royal Guest had once trusted her self among her Enemies, she was both denied access to the Court, and also refused the liberty of retiring into another Kingdom. [a] Cam. 1568. p. 335.

This inhumanity was quickly noised about the World; whereupon *Pius* V. sent *Ridulph* a *Florentine* to consult with the Catholiques about the Interest of their Queen. All Arguments were used which could possibly be thought of, to persuade her Enemies to let her go: and when no fair means would do, [c] the Rising in the North happened. [b] Cam. 1568. p. 146. [c] Cam. 1569. p. 164.

'Tis true, the Declaration of those great Lords that were up, mentioned no other motive but Religion; because this could not shock either the Queen or People so much, as the name of the Queen of *Scots*

would have done; for that implied *ipso facto* the altering both of Religion and Government also. Who is ignorant that that Great man our General (whose memory all ages shall for ever honor) concealed at first what he had long determined? well knowing, that the once naming of the King would ruine that design, which his wit so well laid, and his conduct so happily executed. Besides this, Reader, you must know, before this Rebellion broke out, *Leonard Dacres*, second Son to the Lord *Dacres* of *Gylsland*, undertook the delivery of the Queen, being then in *Darbyshire* in my Lord *Skrewsburie*'s custody. Of this design my [a] Lord *Northumberland was complotter*; therefore 'twas plain, he being Chief in the Northern Insurrection, intended her Title, though there was nothing of it in his Delaration. Consider therefore how notoriously false this Minister is, there having been Claims, Plots, and endeavours by the greatest of the Land before the rising in the North; and when it happened, that also was on the Queen of *Scots* account.

[a] Cam. 1569. p. 160

'Twere tedious, Reader, to tell you how many attempts followed this Insurrection; for there scarce passed a day, till the death of

of the Queen of *Scots*, but ſomething was contrived to prevent the machinations of her unkind Kinſwoman. By all this you may ſee, that while Queen *Elizabeth* uſed her diſtreſſed Gueſt with any kindneſs, the piety of that Princeſs (which moved her rather to be contented with the Succeſſion, then put *England* in a perpetual broyl) cauſed her to command the *Engliſh* Catholiques to lie ſtill; whom (according to the Miniſters own confeſſion) the prohibition of their Religion forten years had not exaſperated to Commotions. But aſſoon as their Queen was impriſoned without hopes of liberty, and they left to the dictates of their own Loyal inclinations, they never ceaſed either at home or abroad to ſollicite the deſtruction of their Enemies. Conſider alſo, I beſeech you, the carriage of the Popes, who uſed all fatherly and gentle means imaginable, becauſe they ſaw the Queen of *Scots*, whoſe right they deemed it was, of her ſelf inclining (like another *Maud*) to expect, till the death of her Cozen ſhould put an end to all pretences. Theſe Popes were ſufficiently urged by the Duke of *Guiſe* and others; yet upon the former conſiderations (being deſirous of peace) they never had practices

againſt

against Queen *Elizabeth*, till *Mary Stuart* was in prison; nor ever publisht the Excom-communication, till the Queen absolutely refused her liberty, even after the *intercession of* [a] *the French and Spanish Embassadours.*

[a] Cab. 1510. p. 177.

But the Minister says, the Popes owned Queen *Elizabeths* Title, and therefore Papists ought not to have disputed it. 'Tis true he says so, and yet confesses, that *Paul* (the IV. (who governed the Church when she came first to the Crown) *would not acknowledge her Legitimate.* But how comes the Gentleman to say, that the other cause of his Holiness's not acknowledging her, was, because she audaciously assumed the Crown without his leave? Does he find any such record in our Histories? Did Queen *Mary* ask his consent? Did any Pope send in this manner to *Edward* the *Sixth*? Or lastly, which of all our Kings used to entreat his favour to be Crowned? Reader, this is a pretty *capricchio* of the Parson, as it had been unusuall if the Pope had made such a claim. *Pius* the *Fourth* succeeding the said *Paul* (for the reasons aforesaid) shewed as much prudence and good nature as ever man did, in hope to compose things without effusion of blood: and certainly after

er his death as much had been ſpilt, as ever was in any Reign, had not Queen *Elizabeth* been the wiſeſt woman that ever ſwayed Scepter. *Pius* V. followed the method of his Predeceſſors, and would have continued it, had not the barbarous uſage of the Queen of *Scots* provok'd him to an Excommunication, and all hoſtile endeavours. His Bull, I know, ſpeaks not of Baſtardy in plain terms; yet with our Miniſters good leave, the Pope in that very Bull calls our late Queen *Mary* [a] *Legitimate*, which ſaying was as much againſt Q. *Elizabeth*, as if he had ſpoken in a bolder phraſe. For as I urged before, my Lord *Bacon* [b] ſays, *That the Legitimations of* Q. Mary *and Queen* Elizabeth *were incompatible.*

[a] *Vide* Bull. *Camb.* 1570, p. 180.

[b] H. 7. p. 206.

In this manner the Popes acknowledged her: and for the Marriages which were offered her (& to very much purpoſe forſooth urged by the Miniſter) from forreign Monarchs, it proves no more right, then that Mrs. *Cleypole* had been truly our Queen, if *France*, *Spain*, or the Emperor had made love to her; and I believe no body doubts, but Suiters would have flockt, had ſhe been unmarried, and ſole Heir to her Father.

Though *Gregory XIII.* ſent to invade *Ireland*, and *Sixtus V.* gave *England* to the

*Spaniards*

*Spaniards*, yet I do not see, that this can touch us Catholicks in the least, though the Minister thinks it a mighty Argument. For if the *French* King may invade St. *Christophers*, or any part of our Dominions, without drawing the *Name of Villain on him or his people*: Why may not the Pope (being *a Temporal Prince*) send forces to subdue what Country he pleases? The Bishop of *Munster*, for his smart endeavours against the *Hollanders*, was never blamed, but on the contrary commended by us; and certainly the Pope is as absolute, and as good a man as he. Kings, you see, may fall upon their Neigbours themselves, and without breach of Morality, incite others to do the like; and while Popes are free Princes, they cannot be reproach'd for using that liberty, without great partiality and malice. This Minister foolishly handles all things, and you may see his intent is only to make a noise: for 'tis no advantage (in our present Dispute) to him to shew, what Kingdoms Popes over-run, or give away.

That which he ought to prove was, That it is Article of Faith amongst us, to assist the Pope in every such invasion, or Gift. That this is not so you may plainly see; for

one

one fifth of the *Turks* Army are of his Christian Subjects, and yet none of them are ever blamed as heritiques for defending the grand *Seigniors* Territories. In the next place, whē was it heard that any *English* Catholick was fain to do pennance like an accurst persō for assisting the Queen against the *Spanish Invasion*? for *there was not Papist then in England for the* [a] *Spaniard*. Or who in *Ireland* in her Reign, thought himself given to the Divel, for fighting against *San Joseph*, who came for the Kingdom upon his Holiness account? For the [b] Bishop of Armath confesses, *The English Papists in Ireland were faithfull in all the invasions by Spaine or Pope*. Now whether Pope or *Spaniard* intended after Conquest to restore the Kingdom to the Queen of *Scots* or her Heirs, I know not; but this I am sure of, that 'twas as probable, as that the *Hollanders* (who were assisted by the Arms of some Cavaliers, and the good wishes of us all) would have given King *Charles* the *Second* possession of *England*, had they got it from the Rump.

[a] Hist. Mem. Q. Eliz. p. 28.

[b] Sanders. K. C. p. 68.

If *Clement* the *Eighth* earnestly strove that Queen *Elizabeths* Successours should be Catholiques, I suppose no body can blame him for it; but I would fain have it shewed

me, that King *James's* admission to the Crown (a Protestant from his Childhood) was opposed by the Catholiks of this Kingdom? If they stickled not after his Mothers death for him as they did for her, this answer is sufficient, That he was not used like her; nor did he (for fear of prejudicing his future admittance) ever desire any body to stir in his behalf.

I suppose, Reader, you wonder why I should challenge any man to shew me how the English Catholicks opposed King *James* his Succession, when as this Minister tells us out of *Cambden*, *That the Papists negotiated the Spanish Invasion*; That afterwards *they perswaded the Earl of* Darby *to pretend to the Crown*; *That* Doleman *alias* Parsons *writ in the behalf of the* Infanta's *Title*; and to conclude his Accusation, de declares, *That the Catholicks of Scotland* (Huntly and others) *raised a powerful Rebellion against this Prince.*

First, Concerning the Invasion, the Minister says more then the Author himself whom he quotes; [a] for *Cambden* only says, *that some English Fugitives did promote it*; and who knows not that Fugitives in all ages, and in all Religions, machinate against those whom they call their Oppressors? and

[a] *Camb.* 1588. p. 476.

on

on the other ſide, who is ignorant, that many Papiſts, more conſiderable far then a few fugitive Prieſts (for moſt of the chiefeſt were ſo) aſſiſted the Kingdom in that War, and in all its other conteſts abroad?

Secondly, If ſome of theſe Fugitives did perſwade my Lord of *Darby*, it was, I ſay again, done like Fugitives, nor had they ever the conſent of the Catholiques for it. It was certainly a very rediculous Plot in them to make a Proteſtant Nobleman (that had ſo poor a Title) their Soveraign; and if it were really deſigned, *It muſt, I am ſure, have been performed by the Proteſtants themſelves*; for the Papiſts had no power, not being able ſo much as to ſet up the Qu. of *Scots*, who had ſo plauſible a right, though they wanted not the aſſiſtance of the Pope, *Spaniard* and all the *Guiſard* Faction. And by the way this Earle was not poiſon'd (*as the Miniſter would have it*) for Stow has a Diary and the Particulars of his ſickneſſe and ſay's [a] *The cauſes of all his deſeaſes were thought by Phiſitians, partly a ſurfet, and partly diſtempering himſelfe with vehement excerciſe 4. days togeather in Eaſter weeke.*

[a] St. 2. Eliz. p. 1275.

Thirdly, For *Dolemans* Book, who writ it, God knows, *Parſons* denied it at

his death; and I believe he was not the Author, because in some of his works he speaks so much to the advantage of K. *James*.

[a] Epist. to his Convers. of England.

Moreover, he was a man of far more wit then to write so foolish a thing: for was not that man strangely simple, that would dedicate his Book to my L. of *Essex* (as the Minister would have it, to prick forward an ambitious man) and yet the whole matter of the Treatise is to prefer the *Infanta*'s Title before all persons whatsoever. But Reader, if this kind of arguing be lawful, that the errours of some unknown men, must be laid to a whole Party, how miserable would the Protestants themselves be, when we come to try them by the same Touchstone! I will not stoop to so mean and insignificant a Topick, but tell you what Protestants still alive can testifie, *viz. That in the latter end of the Queens Reing, My Lord of* Hertfords *Title was often cried up to Tumult in the streets.* Nor had that a slight impression (he being esteemed next to the *Stuarts* in blood) on many a wellmeaning man, because the English have a reluctancy at first to the thoughts of a stranger. Nay *some*[b] *Members of Parliament* (after his admission said openly in the House, *That no people endued*

[b] Hist. Mem. p. 105.

*with*

*with Natural desire of Preservation would admit a Prince of a beggerly Nation to Reign over them, how just soever his claim were, for fear of loosing their propriety, as dear as life it self, and as vigorously to be defended.* By this therefore, Reader, may be seen the rancour of the Reformed against the Kings coming in, since they durst say such things even after his reception: and had not the last Earl of *Pembrook* wisely pocketted up *Ramsey's* switching at *Newmarket* (when the people cried, *Let us break-fast with the* Scots *here, and dine with the rest at* London) 'twas feared that day would have been as fatal to the King as the fifth of *November* might have proved. Papists therefore it seems were not his only Enemies.

Concerning *Huntly's* Rebellion, I am sure the man is doubly mad in mentioning it, for first (according to [a] *Cambden* whom he cites) *The rising was to help the* Spaniards *against Queen* Elizabeth, *who had put to death thier Queen:* nor was there ever a formed insurrectiō so gently punisht by a King; which argues they had no malice against him. Nay, his Majesty is pleased to say in his [b] *Basilicon Doron*, That the Puritans had put out many Libellous Invectives against all Christian Princes, *and*

[a] Ann. 1589.

[b] Epist to the Read.

*and that no body answered them, but the Papists*; by which he said *the scandal was doubled*, for they were the Reformed who calumniated, and the Catholiques were the only Vindicators. Secondly, If the Rebellion (suppose it as bad as may be) of these Lords of another Country, of another age, must touch us the present Catholicks of *England*, what a blow would this be to the Reformed Religion, should I repeat the *Scots unparallel'd actions against their Queen*; *The protecting of* Bothwel (who would have destroy'd King *James*) *by the* [a] *English*: And lastly, (omitting the continual slavery he was in) the downright Conspiracie of the [b] *Gowries against his life!*

[a] Camb. 1581. & 1592.
[b] Salert K. Iam. 1599. p. 225. and 342.

Having thus gone through the Paragraph, I must come to the nicest Question of all; and nice, I may call it, because it is conjectural only. The proposal by the Minister is this: Whether if the Queen of *Scots* had been a Protestant, we should have stickled for her? and if Queen *Elizabeth* had not been thought illegitimate, whether nevertheless we had not rebelled against her? To the first, I say, *viz. We had sided with the Q. of* Scots, *had she been Protestant.* To the second, No, *That the Papists would not have opposed Queen* Eliza-

Elizabeth, *had they thought her legitimate*: and of the Miniſters own aſſertions, I will make this plainly appear. For if according to him, the Papiſts would have ſet up two Proteſtants (the Lords *Darby* and *Eſſex*) who in reality had no right, then I ſay, 'tis certain they would willingly have embraced the Title of the *Stuarts*, that carried ſo fair a ſhew. To the ſecond, I anſwer, *That they would never have oppoſed* Queen Elizabeth *had ſhe been thought Legitimate*: For if (as the Miniſter urged in the beginning) they obeyed her whom they thought an Uſurper for ten years, though ſhe had utterly deſtroyed their Religion, 'tis then more then probable, had her Title been good in their opinion, they had ſubmitted, let her Faith have been what it would. Theſe doubts being thus reſolved by the very Gentleman that propoſed them (who cares not, if he can wound us for the preſent, into what contradictions at laſt he runs himſelf) I may, I hope (ſince he hath ſhewed me the example) propoſe a Query alſo; and I ſhall thank him, if out of my Reply he gives the Solution.

I will not urge my Queſtion ſo far as to ſuppoſe the Queen of *Scots* had been a Proteſtant, but my demand ſhall be ſingly this,

Whether

Whether the Reformed in those days would have quietly obeyed Queen *Elizabeth*, had she stood up for the Catholick Religion? Reader, because the Parson is not ready to give his determination, I will tell you my opinion, which is, that I think they would not, and doubtless this cõjecture is not rash, when we consider what has been done here, and recorded by our Protestant Historians themselves. Have we not seen that (for the safety of Religion) *Edward* the Sixth gave away by the advice of his Councel the Kingdom to *Jane Gray*? and what Bees could be so busie as *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, with many thousands more, to set up (against their lawful Queen *Mary*) that poor Lady, who had not right enough by blood, and much less if she depended wholly upon the Will, for that was void from the beginning, according to the known Laws of the Land? How many treasonable Books were written against this Queen after she came to the Crown, by Mr. *Goodman* and others, asserting, *That she ought to be put to death as a Tyrant, Monster and cruel Beast*? *Will. Thomas* also conspired to murther her, and when he was to be hanged for his Treason, he said, *he died for his Countrey*. By all which

aStovv. Q. M. p. 1056.

which may be gathered (the *Duke of Suffolke also with many more protestants being ready, and Wiat actually in an open and dangerous rebellion,*) how dangerous it was then in *England* for a Prince to be a Papist; though to that day there had never sat but one through Protestant upon the Throne, and he a Child about sixteen when he died.

But now I must descend to a far more tragical example, even to the death of the so often mentioned Qu. of *Scots*, who lost her life barely upon the account of her *Religion*. 'Tis true Queen *Elizabeth* considered her own safety, but the fury of the Nobility and people, (without whose incitement she durst not have been beheaded) was purely for fear she might have survived Queen *Elizabeth*, and being then the undoubted Successour, might have changed Religion as the former Queen *Mary* had done before. If I should urge this barely upon my own word, I might be mistrusted; therefore what I say shall be out of *Cambden*, who was not only a Protestant, but the acknowledged true Annalist of those times. He will tell you, that after *Babingtons* Conspiracy, in the consultation what should be done with the Royal Prisoner, some were for holding

her in safe custody, but others ( *out of care of* [a] *Religion* ) would have her tried and ex-
a Cam. 1586. p. 413. executed. In pursuance then of this advice, she was condemned, and the next Parliament the House petitioned for the execution of her Sentence. The first reason in their supplicate was, for the preservation of the
b Cam. 1586. p. 452. *true* [b] *Religion of Christ*; and after they had told Queen *Elizabeth* also of her own danger, they harpt again upō the former string, desiring her to remēber Gods fearful judgments upon *Saul* and *Ahab*, for their sparing *Benhadad* and *Agag*, two wicked and profane Idolaters. In fine, when the fatal day came, though they were so very severe as to deny her ( being a Guest, and a free Princess ) what all Embassadours have, *viz.* a Preist to assist her at her death, she was again recomforted, when she knew by the Earl of *Kent*, that she died for her Faith: for he told her, that her life would be the destruction of their [c] *Religion*.

c Cam. 1587. p. 455. Reader, I must now here end, and cannot but ask this Question, If the Reformed have for defence of their *Religion* effected the death of their Queen, or at least undoubted Heir; and if they have set up *Jane Gray*, that had no title, because their lawful Prince

was

was Catholick; who have been I would fain know in *England* more faulty in this case, they or we? Pray what advantage has this Minister got by loading us with crimes, of which we are innocent? And if, as he urges in the beginning, *we obey'd* Q. Elizabeth *ten years without fear*, it then shews that Papists can be obedient to a Prince of another Religion, though they doubt their right; whenas the former Protestants would do any thing rather then permit a Catholick to govern, let the Title be never so just. Judge now, Reader whether it be not superlative injustice to incense the World against us, as if our Religion taught nothing but blood, and theirs all gentleness imaginable. I must invoke both Angels and Men to consider our wrong, who are termed trayterous in our Principles, even to this day. We in our own persons have shewed all the duty that men can fancy, and for our Ancestors you have seen what their Plea is; if it be bad, they have justly suffred; if other wise, let them then feel your anger, who would deceive you thus with lies; and remember that 'tis not possible a Religion which governed *England* with glory so many years, can teach a Doctrine destructive to Princes,

or infuse Maxims that will breed commotions among the people.

## SECT. XXIII. APOLOGY.

'Twas for the Royal House of *Scotland* that they suffered in those days, and 'tis for the same illustrious Family we are ready to hazard all on any occasion.

## ANSWER XXII.

*Sir, We have found you notoriously false in that which you affirm: Pray God you prove true in that which you promise.*

## SECT. XXIV. APOLOGY.

Nor can the consequence of the former procedure be but ill, if a *Henry* the *Eighth* (whom *Sir Walter Rawleigh* and my Lord *Cherbury*, two famous Protestants, have so homely characterized) should after twenty years co-habitation, turn away his wife, and this out of scruple of Conscience (as he said) when as History declares, that he never spared woman in his lust, nor man in his fury.

## ANSWER XXIV.

*This Character, he says, agrees better with some Heads of the Church, then with King* Henry *the Eighth, of whom better Historians (naming* Thuanus*) say better things: but if he*

*he were such a Monster, 'twas for want of a better Religion, for he was of ours, except in the point of Supremacy, and therefore I have no reason to flurt at him, except having undertaken to colour Treasons, I think 'tis something towards it to bespatter Kings. I use, he says, the same Art in the next Paragraph to excuse the Powder-Treason, calling it a misdemeanour, the fifth of* November, *a Conjuration, all soft words, but deal hardly with the great Minister of State, whom I make the Author of it, as if the State had conspired against the Traytors, not the Traytors against the State. Then he tells the old Story of the Gunpowder-Plot, and how discovered by my Lord* Mounteagles *Letter, and also how the Jesuites* Baldwin, Hammond, Tesmond *and* Gerrard *were named by the Conspirators as privy with them.*

*The Narration is in any Book that treats of King* James, *and well known by every body: therefore for brevities sake, I have omitted it here.*

## REP. to ANSW. XXIV.

Reader, If the Character do agree better with many heads of our Church, then, I say, in Gods name let it be given them. But I much admire how *Thuanus* comes to be esteemed a better historian in English affairs

then Sir *Walter Raleigh*, or my Lord *Chet*[illegible]ry, whom we poor English-men think [illegible] excellent. But why do I wouble you [illegible] the extravagancies of this strange man, [illegible] when he finds (as he fancies) a presens [illegible]pedient, cares not though he be forc'd to [illegible]ny it again in the next page. What I ha[illegible] said of *Henry* the *Eighth*, these two famo[illegible] men have said it, and a[a] thousand tim[illegible] worse, though they were Protestants, and the first of them the great admirer of [illegible] Mrs. the daughter of this very Prince. Nay (omitting the unexpressable foul Language of the Reformed at home and abroad, especially of *Luther* himself) the Bishop of [b] *Hereford* (a Member of the Church of *England*) calls him, *unsatiable glutted with one, and [illegible] of variety seeking to enjoy another*. I shall speak no more to this, nor any thing separately to the next four Paragraphs, for they all concern the Powder-Treason. You shall see what he says to each of them, and then my Answer shall follow in one intire discourse.

a Vide Pref. to the Hist of the World.

b H. 8. p. 142.

## SECT. XXV. APOLOGY.

Now for the fifth of *November*, with hands lifted up to Heaven, we abominate and detest.

ANS.

## ANSWER XXV.

*Here he asks, Whether it be the Festival, the Treason we abominate and detest. If the first, he says, he will believe us without lifting our hands. If the Treason, he asks why we not call it so; which while we cannot afford to do, lifting up our hands will never perswad how we abominate and detest it.*

## SECT. XXVI. APOLOGY.

And from the bottom of our hearts, say, that may they fall into irrecoverable perdition, who propagate that faith by the blood of Kings, which is to be planted in truth and meekness only.

## ANSWER XXVI.

*He says, I should be cautious of throwing such Curses, for fear of hitting our Father the Pope; as the Philosopher told the son of a common woman, that threw stones among a multitude.*

## SECT. XXVII. APOLOGY.

But let it not displease you (*Men Brethren, and Fathers*) if we ask whether *Ulysses* be no better known? or who has forgot the Plots of *Cromwel*, framed in his Closet, not only to destroy many faithful Cavaliers, but

also

also to put a lustre upon his Intelligence, as if nothing could be done without his knowledge? Even so did the then great Minister, who drew some few ambitious men into this conjuration, and then discovered it by a Miracle.

## ANSWER XXVII.

*Here he calls me Apostle and Poet, full of Gravity, and Fiction. Then he says, I would make the World believe they were drawn into this Plot by* Cecil; *yet am so wise as not to offer to prove it, but would steal it in by the example of* Cromwel. *Again, he says (admitting this for true) they were Traytors nevertheless in doing what they did, had there been no* Cecil *in the World: and therefore the excuse only implies, they had not wit to invent it, though they wanted not malice to execute it; for according to my illustration, as the Cavaliers whom* Cromwel *drew in, had their Loyalty abused, and were nevertheless faithful still; so the Powderie Traytors (whom* Cecil *drew in) had their disloyalty out-witted, and were nevertheless Traytors still: For 'tis clear, by being drawn in, both parties were sufficiently disposed for it. What I lay upon* Cecil, *he says is a groundless and an impudent Fiction, which I am properly*

*the*

the author of; for no body ever spoke it before but in raillery. He asks by what Tradition or Revelation I received it sixty years after the fact, whereas neither K. James, nor Bellarmine, nor the Apologists of that age knew any thing of it. He desires to know who were Cecils setters, that would be hanged, that his art might not be suspected, for none were saved; and Garnet said, he would give all the World to clear his name and Conscience of the Treason. These are strong presumptions for the Negative of Cecils having no hand in the Plot: but he says, there is only my bare word for the affirmative; which if it be enough, here is a never-failing Topick to write Apologies for any Villany, viz. that the then great Ministers of State drew them in. In Queen Elizabeths days we had a higher game to fly at, to wit, her Title to the Crown; but durst not make so bold with King James, otherwise we had not stoopt to a Minister of State. He says farther, that I strive to diminish the Plot, by calling the Plotters Desperadoes, who could not be called so by reason of Poverty, because their Estates were great; nor by reason of discontents; for there was not a man, as King James said, that could pretend a cause of grief. If the cause was, because they had not all they desired, it is so far from excusing

*them, that it gives occasion to suspect me. I ought*, he *says*, *to call the Discovery a Miracle, because King* James *named it so, and especially since* Bellarmine *acknowledged it so: but 'tis no wonder, that I, who will not call the Plot, Treason, will not allow the Discovery to be a Miracle.*

## SECT. XXVIII. APOLOGY.

This will easily appear, *viz.* how little the Catholique Party understood the design, seeing there were not a score of guiltly found, though all imaginable industry was used by the Commons, Lords, and Privy-Councel too.

## ANSWER XXVIII.

*He says, few understood the very design, for 'twas not safe to tell it many; but Papists generally knew there was a design, and pray'd for the success of it. Though but a score were in the Plot, yet four score appeared in Rebellion; nor is it probable so small a number could think to do much by surprizing Princess* Elizabeth, *unless they expected other assistance. But Treason*, he *says*, *is hated by all, when unsuccessful.*

## REPLY to ANSW. XXVIII.

'Twas never in my heart (and so will all that know me testifie) to think that the Conspirators

ſpirators in this Treaſon were not Traytors in the higheſt degree, or that any punishment could equal the blackneſs of their offence. In the Apology I am ſure there are no words that can be rackt to this; for my intent there was only to ſhew in short that the Catholick body was innocent, *knowing nothing of the entreprize*: That the Plot (for which theſe were executed) was made, or at leaſt fomented by the Policy of *a great Stateſman*. And laſtly, though the deſign had been ſuggeſted by Papiſts alone, and unanimouſly approved by all, *yet we that live now are guilty of no ſin*, and therefore 'twere ſevere to be puniſht for it.

That the Catholick Body had no hand in the Treaſon, moſt plainly appears by the quality of the Actors, and by the number of them. I know there were four or five Gentlemen of Ancient blood engaged; but I look upon that as no wonder: for out of the firſt twenty Catholicks accidentally met I'll lay a conſiderable wager to find as great Families as any were there, unleſs that of the *Percies*: yet this *Percy* was a man of no fortune, nor am I certain (though I well know my Lord *Northumberlands* Relations) whether really he was a kinſman, or only for names ſake

called his Cozen.

A Plot is looke upon as general, when a good number of the Chief of a Party are intrigued in the design. The Catholick Noblemen were then not only as considerable as any, but also the considerablest of the Nation: for at that time there being no Duke, but the late King, the first *Marquess*, the first *Earl*, the first *Viscount*, and the first *Baron* were of our Profession; and I believe 'twill be granted, that the Lords *Winchester*, *Arundel*, *Montacute*, and *Abergavenny*, (and so proportionably the rest of the Papal Nobility) had Estates able to be Partizans, if they thought fit, in any conjuration. Now none of these Noblemen, nay, not one of all the Peers, nor any more of the Gentry then the Traytors, whom I will by and by mention, had a hand in the design: therefore to call this, as the Minister and others do, an universal Popish Plot, is in it self a contradiction, or at least a riddle beyond my capacity to unfold.

For the number of these Gunpowder Traytors, they were but *thirteen Laymen in all*: whereof four, viz. *Catesby*, *Percy*, and *the two Wrights* were killed in the apprehending. [a] *Tresham* died in the Tower. And eight

[a] Back. p. 93.

eight suffered, as *Fawn, Keys, Batel, Grant, Rookwood, the two Winters, and Digby*; and it is evident there were no more of the Conspiracy, seeing that in all their examinations no Gentleman was discovered; which could not happen out of design to save their friends, because several secret particulars they [a] revealed; and *Baldwin, Hammond, Tesmond*, and *Gerard*, being Jesuites, were (as the Minister says) found Actors in the Plot. If then the Malefactors did accuse their Confessors, (as our Adversarys calls them) certainly they would never have spared others, had there been any more guilty.

[a] *Vid.* their printed Confessions.

Besides this of their accusing no body, the Commons, Lords, and Privy Council were so vigilant, that they left no stone unturn'd to find the depth of the Plot: and to shew how nice they were in all manner of suspitions, the Lords [b] *Stourton* and *Mordant*, two Catholicks, were fined, only because absent from the House that day; by which 'tis plain they were so far from finding positive proof, that there was not the least glimpse of any thing, otherwise they would never have descended to so slight a possibility; for there is not a day wherein the Parliament sits, but there may be found more Catholicks out

[b] Baker. P. 585.

of the House, then were then. Nay, the circumspection was so great, that my [a] Lord *Northumberland* a protestant was imprisoned for many years, as thought perchance to know somewhat, because being Captain, he had admitted *Percy* into the Band of Pensioners. Thus, Reader, you see how impossible it is, that the Catholick Party were involved here in; and for the fourscore that appeared with them in Rebellion, they were only Servants and Horse-boys, who (as [b] *Sanderson* says) were *watcht hourly, for fear of quitting their Masters*: and this also [c] *Speed* confirms, affirming, *that these were ever ready to steal from the Conspirators; and that more care was in keeping them, then trust reposed either in their faith or defence.* Nor can any thing make this truth more evident, then that none but the thirteen aforesaid suffered either for the Plot or rising.

[a] Baker p. 565.

[b] K. Jam. p. 372.

[c] King. I. p. 920

Concerning the Plot it self, Reader, those that set it a working were the discoveres of it: for you must know it was a piece of wit in Queen *Elizabeths* days, to draw men into such devices; nor were any more excellent in the Art then *Burleigh* and *Walsingham*, to the first of whom, this *Cecil* mentioned by the Minister, was son, and successor

ceſſor to the other in the very Secretariſhip. Making and fomenting Plots was then, I ſay, in faſhion; for when *Gifford* diſcovered to *Walſingham* that *Babington* had a deſing in the behalf of the Q. of *Scots*, *the Secretary writ to Sir A. Paulet her keeper, to let ſome of his Servants be corrupted*; and thereupon the *Brewer* was conſidered as the fitteſt man; by which means the Queen receiving and ſending Letters, *Walſingham* had the peruſal of them; and thus when many were drawn in (as moſt looſe people may, if Stateſmen lay gins) they were all at laſt taken and hanged. The ſame trap caught the Queen alſo; for they firſt kept her in priſon to make her earneſt for liberty; then opened her, as you ſee, a way for correſpondency at home & abroad to procure her freedom; and becauſe of this ſhe was condemned to die, there being a Law a year before *on purpoſe prepared* againſt her, on hopes of ſuch and the like [b] Conſpirations. But this Statute had been too weak, as Lawyers well know, to put a free Princeſs to death, had ſhe not been a Papiſt, and not otherwiſe to be hindred from the Crown after the deceaſe of Queen *Elizabeth*. Such a trick as this for our deſtruction was again invented by the *Stateſ-*

[a] Cam. 1586. p. 408.

[b] Camb. 1586. p. 419. ſo the Queen ung.

*man*, who bore as every body knew a particular hatred to all of our Profession; and this increased to see the new King not only *to receive into his Counsel Henry Earl of* Northampton, *an eminent Catholick*, but also to hear his Majesty speak to the two Houses *a little against Persecution of Papists*, when as there had been nothing within those Walls but invectives against them for above forty years together.

a Wil. King l. pag. 3.

b Wil. King l. p. 19.

What could now destroy our hopes with this gratious Prince, but a seeming Plot against his Life and Line? Nor was it any hard thing for a Secretary to know turbulent and ambitious spirits, who perchance had had designs in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. 'Tis not possible to discover the whole transaction of a great Minister that died in prosperity: but 'tis argument enough to assert this, that if a Person (a famed Professor in *tricks*, hating and envying us, as I said before) contrived a most material part, he contrived also the rest: and certainly (with some few considerations upon it) *this miraculous Letter* which discovered the Gunpowder-Plot, will discover our Statesman to be the Author of it. The [d] Lettter is thus.

c Mem. K. l. p. 37. and 88.

d Baker K. l. p. 391.

My

My Lords.

*Out of the love I bear some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation, therefore I could wish you (as you tender your life) to forbear the attendance at this Parliament, for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. Think not slightly of this advertisement; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the Letter, and I hope you will make good use of it.*

Reader, I doubt not, but you have often heard in the Pulpit, as wel as from the Ministers relation, how the Papists plac'd 36. barrels of Powder under the Parliament-house, and that *Faux* with his dark-lanthorn was to set them on fire, and so at one clap blow up King, Lords and all. This you know was discovered by the Letter aforesaid, sent to my Lord *Monteagle*, and by it the whole design was found out the night before the Parliament sat; *for great Adventures do always come to light just as they are to be executed.* Now, Reader, let me en-

a The search was made the Night before the session, 1679.

treat you seriously to consider, and tell me whether it could be a Popish Plotter that writ this Letter. For is it possible that any mans should be so distracted (after they had brought their Plot to that perfection, had so solemnly sworn, even [a] *by the Trinity and Sacrament, never to disclose it directly or indirectly, by word or Circumstance*, and resolved also to blow up all the *Catholique Lords* and the rest of their *friends* in both houses) I say all this Considered, is it possible that a man should be soe distracted as to write a Letter, that had more in it of disclosing some Plot, then the bare saving of a friend. 'Twas reported that *Percy* writ it; but no body ever found there were such superlative endearments between those two, or between any other of the Conspirators and *Monteagle*, as that they could stumble at this Noblemans destructiō, and yet dispeance with killing so many of their own Religion, and Relations; for [b] *Speed* says, *Father, Brother, Friend, Ally, Papist*, &c. *were to have been blown up* by these Traytors. But suppose that *little intimacies between my Lord and Percy* ([c] as *Wilson* says these were) had produced so mighty a concern for his life, whereas my Lord *Northumberland*)

[a] Speed p. 917.

[b] Speed p. 916.

[c] Wil. K. I. p. 32.

*thumberland* (Percies Patron and only ſupport) was to be ſacrificed without pity; I ſay, ſuppoſe this, what need was there to write, *That God and man would punish the Parliament, and this by a blow, and that they ſhould not know who hurt them*, and a hundred ſuſpitious things to no purpoſe? If it were out of a deſire (being an extraordinary friend) to keep this Nobleman from the Houſe that day, the Epiſtle-ſender ſhould have written in his own name and Character. That out of love to his preſervation, he deſired him to forbear the Parliament that day, becauſe ſome were reſolved to kill him: that as yet being under Oath, he could not tell him the particulars, but that ſhortly his promiſe would be void, and then he ſhould know all things from him by word of mouth. Such a Letter as this would have certainly kept my Lord at home, when as the other muſt confound him and every body elſe, coming from an unknown perſon: nor could any thing in the world (in the opinion of any fool) more naturally have endangered a diſcovery then ſuch needleſs circumſtances, and notice alſo given ſo long before the execution. For, Reader, you muſt know, that the Letter was ſent to *Mount-*

a Sand. King I. p. 323.

*eagle* a *ten days before the fifth of November*; which no real Plotter would have done, ſince my Lord might have beē better keep't at home, by adviſing him the night before. Nay, this long warning was ſo far from an appearance of advantage, that on the contrary it was quite oppoſite to all the deſigns of a Conſpirator; for 'twas certain, either it would make my Lord careleſly contemn the admonition, ſince it came from an idle fellow in the ſtreet; or elſe if he were apprehenſive, he would neceſſarily ſhew it to friends, by which (as I ſaid) there might be no little hazard to have all found out. Now on the other ſide, this interval was beneficial to a *Machivilian*, becauſe he knew 'twould not only be more grateful to the Privy-Councel to have time to conſider on difficulties, but alſo foreſaw, if the King and Lords (through ſurprize or otherwiſe) ſhould not hit on the Plot, he muſt be forc'd to ſtart hints (the execution being ſo neer at hand) which might eaſily have made him ſuſpected for contriver; and how ungrateful ſulch a wickedneſs would have been to an upright Prince, he him ſelf could not but well imagine.

Thus, Reader, you ſee the intention of the

the Letter was to have the thing diſcover'd, and thus could he ruine his Enemies, and make his own vigilance appear; for without ſuch and the like remembrances, the wit of great Miniſters is ſoon forgotten both by their Prince and People. Nor did *Cecil* miſs of another reward alſo, for (as [a] *Sanderſon* ſays) *he was made Earl for his ſervice in this buſineſs.* [a] K. I. p. 32.

That which I aſſert here, does not leſſen the quickneſs of the Kings judgment; for his inſight as much appears, whether the Letter were writ by a Stateſman or a Conſpirator. Neither does this ſtrike at the Feſtival enacted, becauſe the Parliamēt finding by the priſoners taken there was ſuch a Plot, could not but thank God, that theyr trayterous intention was diſcovered. And truly, if a ſcore of wicked Chriſtians had conſpired againſt *Nero* himſelf, I would not gainſay the remembrance of the delivery, in what Countrey ſoever it were obſerved. All that I here ſhew is, that the Catholique *P*arty had no hand in the Treaſon, there being *but thirteen Laymen in all,* as you ſee plainly proved; and theſe very thirteen were doubtleſs drawn in by their mortal Enemy; for the Letter came by his contrivance, beeing (as Osborn [b] confeſſes) a neate deviſe of the [b] Mem. K. I. p. 36.

Trea-

Treasurer's, nor was he ignorant from time to time of all their actions.

He that lived in our times has seen the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* reacted. For in those twelve years, from 1646. to 1658. you may remembrer *the establisht Religion of the Nation altered*; *an absolute Soveraign executed with formalities and pretences of Law*, *The* French *fond of our amity*; *the* Spaniard *beaten*; *and lastly, the zealous youth drawn into Plots with all ease imaginable.* His Majesty had those about him that had learnt this Art in *their old Mistress's* Service; and this the all-knowing King at last found out; for 'twas impossible that ever he would have been favourable to the Catholikes again, had he not in length of time, been assured thad they were innocent of all machinations against him. Reader, he was a constant Protestant, and yet so[a] kind to us the last half of his Reign (of which *Wilson* complains) that neither the *Spanish* Match, nor any other worldly hopes could have obtained this, had he not been convinc'd we never had a design of destroying him and His. Nay, the King in his own Declaration about it, says, *That the generality of his Catholique Subjects did abhor such a detestable Conspiracy,*

[a] Wil. K. I. in several places. p. 196. &c.

*ſpiracy, no leſs then him ſelf.*

Having thus replied to his Anſwer in the four laſt Paragraphs, there reſts now a little to be ſaid to ſome short jerks of his, which he loocks upon as witty and home.

Firſt, he is troubled that I call the Powder-Treaſon, *Miſdemeanor*, *Fifth of November*, *Conjuration*, all of them *being ſoft words*. To this I ſay, I am very ſorry I have offended him, and in my next Apology (if that will content him) I'll ſpeak in the longeſt ſentence *of the Cõmon Prayer* about the matter: but my paſt errour grew from this, becauſe ſignificant brevity is aimed at by moſt; and therefore when we ſpeak of, or to the King, we ſay Sir, or your Majeſty, and not at every word, *Charles the Second by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France & Ireland, Defender of the Faith*, &c. ſo in handling this affair I uſe thoſe short words that expreſs the whole matter to the full; for I think Treaſon is a *Miſdemeanor*; when more then one are in it, 'tis a *Conjuration*; and the *Fifth of November*, is the common phraſe of the Kingdom.

2.ly He ſays, that K *Iames*'s Male-Line were to have been all deſtroyed. Now[a] *Baker* ſays, *That the late King then D. of York was only to*

[a] K. I. p. 592. *Speed* ſays the ſame p. 918.

*have*

*Have been suprized by Percy.* But the matter is not material; and I cite these *Protestant Authors*, only to shew that the malice of the Minister will make him erre in every thing.

Thirdly, He thinks that my comparing of *Cromwels* drawing in the Cavaliers with this of *Cecils*, is very odd, and unequal: For the Cavaliers, he sayes, were cheated into *a lawful Action*, but the Powder-Traytors were out-witted into *Treason*. To this, I say, that my comparison was never intended (as you may see if you look into the Apology) to make an equality of Justice or Honour in their sufferings; but to remember you how easie it is for Trapanners to draw people into *Plots*, and from thence to the *Gallows*.

Fourthly, Concerning his desire to know who was *Cecils* setter to decoy in the rest; I answer, I cannot tell: Nor should we ever have known who was *Cromwels Instrument*, had not Sir S. *Morland* most Loyally discovered him. There were three or four the Minister names discovered by the Conspirators, who knew of the Plot, and afterwards died obscurely abroad. Even so died *Gifford* the Priest (*Walsingham's*-setter) never visibly rewarded, who corrupted the

*Brewer*

*Brewer*, and so drew the Queen of *Scots* into the trap that ruined her, as has been already mentioned.

Fifthly, Because he is angry with the word *Desperadoes*, I have altered it in this Edition, and put in lieu *Ambitious men*. I am sure the word in it self is *proper* enough, for most were poor; and King James in his Proclamation against Percy a call's them *men for the most part of desperate estates*. But had they been never so rich, or in esteem, it would well have fitted with them also; for my Lord of *Essex* and Marshal *Byron* were really *Desperadoes*, and yet wanted nothing, had they known their own happiness. a *Vid. Proel. Nov. 7.*

Lastly, He says, few knew the manner, but most knew there was a design on foot, and prayed for the success of it. Suppose, Reader, this were true, that a design was recommended to the prayers of the Catholicks, what were they guilty of by it? for at that time the Chief of them were solliciting at Court to get some little ease after their long misery; and therefore the rest might well think their prayers were fit to be desired. But all this is a fiction.

Thus, Reader, I have now left nothing unanswered that he has urged: and thus you

see the Reasons I have to believe the Plot it self a Trick; and besides, 'tis plain the Body of the Catholicks had no hand, or inclination to the thing, which the wise K. *James* at last (as I said) well knew, & therefore was gratiously pleased to let the beams of his mercy shine again upon them.

## SECT. XXIX. APOLOGY.

But suppose (*my Lords and Gentlemen*, which never can be granted) that all the Papists of that age were consenting; Will you be so severe then to still punish the Children for their Fathers faults? Nay, such Children that so unanimously joyned with you in that glorious Quarrel, wherein you and we underwēt such sufferings, that needs we must have all sunk, had not our mutual love assisted.

## ANSWER XXIX.

*He says, suppose falsly, to avoid truth; for who says all Papists then were consenting, or who can deny there be some in this age of the same Principles with those Traytors? and though we be not punisht for our Predecessors actions, yet we ought to be restrained, that we may not do like them. Though I would, he says, shuffle men of these Principles (by the word* unanimously)

mously) *among those that served the King, yet those good Servants are not so many, but the others may be easily distinguisht. Concerning those that only suffered with the Royallists, the Minister thanks them for their love, but not for their assistance; for the Protestant Cavaliers could not sink lower, but some of us floated like cork, and others swam upon the bladders of dispensation; and therefore as they received no help from our swimming, so they apprehend no assurance of us by our sufferings.*

## REP. to ANSW. XXIX.

Pray, Reader, what is in this Answer that confutes the Apology? for what man of our Party did not faithfully serve the King to his power? and who of us in his Majesties absence had not estimation among the rest of the Cavaliers, according to his ranck and quality? was there any Party in *England* more depresst then we? Were not Priests of all Orders hanged? were not others imprisoned during life? Had not we three times more Estates sold then any people else? and were not the Laws put in force, so that to those that had something, two parts of it were also swept away? *Cromwel* by is Maxims kept us poor, because *we should*

*not be ſervice able to the King*; and now our Gratious Monarch being returned, this Godly Miniſter thinks fit to *adviſe our reſtraint*, as he calls it (which in plain *Engliſh* is to deſire we should beuſed as that Tyrant uſed us) for fear we should do like our predeceſſors, *i. e. aſſiſt his Majeſty*; for I am ſure all of them did ſo, and many confirmed that duty with their Blood. Can therefore be on Earth greater wickedneſs then this, not only to be forgetful in proſperity, but thus with calumny to aſperſe thoſe, who were faithful fellow-ſufferers with the Royall Party in the height of all theire misfortunes? Reader, the hopes of this pitileſs man is, that rigour and deſpair may ſtagger us in our Loyalty: but herin I defie him: for nothing can move them to contend, whom cõſcience and Love have obliged to be obedient.

## SECT. XXX. APOLOGY.

What have we done; that we should now deſerve your Anger? Has the Indiſcretion of ſome few incenſt you? 'Tis true, that is the thing Objected.

## ANSWER XXX.

*Sir, our anger is only a neceſſary care, that what you call your indiſcretions, may not grow*

*up*

*up to be ſuch, as you lately called your miſdemeanours.*

## SECT. XXXI. APOLOGY.

Do not you know an Enemy may eaſily miſtake a Maſs-Bell, for that which calls to Dinner?

## ANSWER XXXI.

*We know he may upon a Faſt-day, for then you uſe to ring your Veſper-Bell before Dinner. And how can a ſimple Heretick tell, whether it call you to pray, or to eat Fish? But we do not know, that ever any of you was brought into trouble about that Queſtion.*

## SECT. XXXII. APOLOGY.

Or a Sequeſtrator be glad to be affronted being Conſtable? when 'twas the hatred to his perſon, and not preſent Office, which perchance egg'd a rash man to folly.

## ANSWER XXXII.

*Poſsibly he may be glad of it. For 'twas the Jeſuitical diſtinction between Perſon and Office, that firſt helpt him to be a Sequeſtrator; and now he ſees the diſtinction come in play, he may hope to have his place again.*

REP.

## REPLY to ANS. XXXII.

Reader, you ſee he will divide a Paragraph, and anſwer to each diviſion (as he hath done in theſe three laſt) though it be gibbrish, and nothing to purpoſe. *The ringing of a Maſs-Bell in* Lancashire, *the affronting a Conſtable, and ſome other ſuch things, were Accuſations brought to* London *againſt us.* But how impudent is the Miniſter, to ſay, we were never in trouble, as he knows, for this? when as every body knows what a do there has been ever ſince theſe complaints were alleadged by the known Enemies of the Kingdom.

## SECT. XXXIII. APOLOGY.

We dare with ſubmiſsion ſay, let a publick Invitation be put up againſt any Party what ſoever; nay, againſt the Reverend Biſhops them ſelves, and ſome malicious informer or other will alledge that, which may be far better to conceal. Yet all mankind by a Manifeſto on the Houſe-door are encouraged to accuſe us. Nor are they upon Oath, though your Enemies and ours take all for granted and true.

## ANSWER XXXIII.

*He ſays, here's an ambush for Biſhops to have them*

*them esteemed Popish, because I reverence them; and obnoxious in such matters, as I say, it may be better far to conceal. But he knows my kindness, and defies my malice. They are* Donna Olympia's *Bishops need concealment; but the Bishops of* England *are of another make and hold not their credit at any ones courtesie. He farther says, what could the Parliament do less, then invite the People to bring in their grievances to the place of Redress? and 'twas great hardship, he says, that the House of Commons did not give Oaths to the Accusers, which no House of Commons ever did upon any occasion.*

## REPLY. XXIII.

If my respects to the Prelats of *England* have offended this Minister, I am sorry for it. We and the whole World know how zealous they are for Monarchy, and therefore I wish they had no greater Enemies then Papists. But if there be an ambush laid for them, Judge, Reader, whether we or the *Cobler* of *Glocester* have done it. 'Tis an usual phrase among Catholicks when they shew the wickedness of Lyars, to say they are so abominable that they will not stick to calumniate the Church it self; there-

fore

fore I think kind expreſſions ought to have had a better requital. For *Donna Olympia's Biſhops*, I ſuppoſe thoſe of our Kingdom take them ſelves to be of the ſame make; for hers received their *Orders from Rome*, and from the ſame Foun tain, as I have read, the Church of *England* pretends to *derive all Ordination whatſoever*. The Miniſter needed not to have told me, that the Commons cannot adminiſter Oaths, for I know the Orders of that Houſe better then his Worſhip. I was not troubled that no Oath was given; but ſeeing that no Oath could be given, 'twas hard me thought, that the whole Town ſhould take all things as unqueſtionable truths, though the Accuſers were (as I ſaid) profeſt enemies to us, and lately to the very Kingdom alſo. But now, I thank God, men underſtand themſelves much better: for Lies can never long endure.

## SECT. XXXIV. APOLOGY.

It cannot be imagined, where there's ſo many men of heat and youth (overjoy'd with the happy Reſtauration of their Prince, and remembring the Inſolencies of the former Grandees) that they ſhould all, at all times prudently carry themſelves; for this

this would be to be more then men: And truly wee esteem it as a particular blessing, that God has not suffer'd many, through vanitie or frailty to fall into greater faults, then are yet as we understand laid to our charge.

## ANSWER. XXIV.

*He says, If a Jesuite keep the reckoning, the King will ever be in our debt: for our old Treasons were upon the account of his Family, and our late insolencies upon the score of his Restauration. Then he asks, whether I would seriously perswade men, that at six years distance we were still transported with that blessing. There were, he says, fresher causes of jollity suspected by many who saw our joy, while the fire raged in* London, *and two potent Enemies hovered on our Coasts.*

## REPLY to ANSW. XXXIV.

Many Accusations, Reader, were of two or three yaers standing and more, and no one thing amounted to a real Publick nuisance: let a man then cōsider this soberly, and he will find it no little wonder, that so many Catholiques of all Ranks, Sexes, Ages, and humours should for above six years together never so far indulge to their

Passions, as to commit a fault fit to trouble Parliament with, though from all Countries the violentest of their Enemies came to offer up their complaints against them. For my part I do greatly admire at it, and must acknowledge a particular Providēce assisting; nor can I but thank the Publisher of the Accusations, who malitiously intending us harm, has done us all the right imaginable.

## SECT. XXV. APOLOGY.

Can we chuse but be dismay'd (when all things fail) that extravagant Crimes are fathered on us? It is we that must be the Authors, some say, of firing the Citie, even we that have lost so vastly by it. Yet truly in this our ingenuity is great, since we think it no Plot, though our Enemie, an *Hugonot* Protestant acknowledged the fact, and was justly executed for his vain Confession. Again, if a Merchant of the Church of *England* buy Knives for the business of his Trade, this also presently is a Popish contrivance to destroy the well-affected.

## ANSWER XXXV.

*He says, Though we lost vastly by the fire of London, yet we may still be suspected by any body that considers* Garnets *determinations,*

viz.

*viz. that the innocent & guilty may be destroyed, so it be to a farther good. The loss it seems (he says) goes not to my heart, when I can be so pleasant to call* Hubert *my enemy, and a* Hugonot *Protestant, 'tis true after that* Hubert *had been at confession with Father* Harvey, *he said he was a Protestant; but (it being beyond his instructions) he denied* he *was a* Hugonot, *which he might well do, because he said, he thought confession to a Priest necessary to salvation, and also repeated an* Ave Mary *which he said, was his usual Prayer. 'Tis evident therefore that* he *was no* Hugonot, *nor Protestant, nor enemy to Papists upon the account of Religion.*

## REPLY to ANSW. XXXV.

Concerning this *Hubert* a *Frenchman* that pretended to burn the City, you must know, *He was son to a Protestant, a Protestant himself in* France, *had been of the* French *Church in* England; *to the Committee, and to the Judge at the Bar, he profest then he was a Protestant, and died so at the Gallows.* Certainly it was no Argument he was no Protestant, because he (as the Minister says) esteemed of Confession; for I know many Protestants that have used it, some Divines have writ

in behalf of it, and I remember Dr. *Wall* *will mightily for it, when he governed his flock in Fleetstreet.* An *Ave Mary* is Scripture, and whosoever reads the *Salutation of the Angel and St. Elizab.* does at that time actually say one, Besides, if no body is a Protestant that holds peculiar opinions, then I must conclude there are very few Protestants in the World: for Protestants in Religion agree only in Negatives, that is, they generally *deny the Pope, Purgatory, &c.* but when they come to Positives, they jar, and then divide, and subdivide (as we by experience see) into a million of Sects and Factions.

Reader, before I go farther, I must tell you who this *Harvey* is: by Nation he is a Low-Countryman, but admitted among the *English* Jesuites, as many Aliens are. He is an antient, quiet, and pious man; 'tis lately I knew him, but found him to be of a very Angelical conversation. Many Priests being fro time to time imprisoned, brought him acquainted with *Newgate*, where sometimes he assisted those that went to die. This I call high charity in any man of any Sect, to take pains to make another of that Religion, which his Conscience tells him is

most

most agreeable to God. Nor is there any humane interest or Policy in thus assisting Malefactours, for they are poor of themselves, and sure to die the next execution-day. By this occasion Mr. *Harvey* met with the *French Hugonot* [ the pretended firer of *London* ] with whom he had discourse about Religion; and after he had instructed him in the Catholique Doctrine, he went to administer the Communion to the Company; and then demanding of them, whether they received according to the Roman Catholick faith, *Hubert* said, *He had nothing to do with Roman*, and therefore the Sacrament was refused him; nor did Mr. *Harvey* ever see him after. This is the truth of the Story. But, pray, what is the *Frenchman* to us, had he been *Papist*? though (as it happened) he lived and died otherwise. For my part, I believe there are few *Frenchmen* now in *London*, but would be glad to see it afire again, either for an opportunity to steal, or for the advantage of their Prince, were he at War with us; the like would the *English* wish at *Paris*, I dare say.

Consider therefore, Reader, I beseech you, my Answerer; and though 'tis at no time my humour to give foul language, yet

I must say, I challenge all *England* to find out one that shall excel him in ill. He has accused us for the *Murther of King Charles*; *the cause of the English, Irish, and Scotish War*; *the triumphing at our mis fortunes at Sea*; *the rejoycing for the Enemies being upon our Coast*; *and then lastly the burning of* London *it self*; yet all this urged without any manner of proof, no not so much as the least probability.

Is one detraction against one onely man a sin, and punishable at the Judgment-seat of God hereafter; and shall so various aspersions against so many of the best account in *England* pass for a toy? I am sure, it is my belief, to think they shall die eternally (if they repent not) who defamed and did wrong even to those that crucified Christ. If then a woe be pronounc'd against such, what will become of them that asperse his Members? and therefore if this Minister be a Christian he must know that without satis-faction there is no forgiveness. Nay, the effects of his crimes have risen to this, to encourage other men to do the like; for not long after, there was publisht (as I just now mentioned) a libell call'd the *Committee of Parliaments enquiry about the firing the City*; and at last the wickedness

kedneſs of the Author laid it at the doors of the *King*, *Duke*, *General*, *L. Craven*, *Chief Juſtice*, and others of the chiefeſt account in the Nation.

All that he ſaid againſt Papiſts, was in truth to juſtifie them; for no better Accuſation could be found, then *that ſeveral Frēchmen were buſie about the fire: that a ſuppoſed Jeſuite with a Biſhop-ſattin Suit (over which was a frock) came and fired a Houſe (the fire it ſelf being*, as the Libeller confeſſes, *within ſix doors of it) and when he was apprehended, he ſpake Latine without any neceſſity.* Then he tells, *that one* Carpenter (*who is an Apoſtate Prieſt*) *ſpoke for the Pope; & that one or two poor women were ſollicited to be Papiſts, and told, Now was the time, for if they neglected this opportunity they ſhould not be regarded hereafter.* Nay, when nothing could be found againſt Papiſts, the *Author cites Verſes* (only found as he confeſſes in *Weſtminſter-Hal*) *to threaten Proteſtants into Popery. And another Paper* (writ by a Papiſt, as he ſays, newly turned Proteſtant, and found in a Pew by a Templer) *in which he deſired all Proteſtants to purſue Papiſts, for they had a deſign to cut their throats.* This is the effect of the Pamphlet, which I would

have

have every body read, for nothing can be a greater Vindication to us, then such inconsiderable and senceless Lies.

And truly, when I consider these with the Stories against Papists *in the Answer to Philanax*, and how both are exactly made in the same mode and figure, I should not doubt but that *Sieur du Moulin was the Author*, were not the Libel so severe against his *Countrymen* the *French*. And pray Reader, consider here the Justice of God, who is a God of retaliation always: for as the Dr. *strove to incite* the people by his malitious falsities, which have not the least probability of truth, and which would involve all the Loyal Catholiques of *England* with one or two guilty men, if there had been any such; so now there are spread such a number of Lies about our danger from the *French*, that people are ready to stone all they meet; and should the rabble run into a sudden fury (as God knows but they may) Mr. *du Moulin and his Family* may perchance also go sharers with his *Countrymen*; for his being a free Denizon would be thought a weak Argument by the outragious and overheated multitude.

Concerning the Fire it self, Reader, I could

could never, as I said, think it a design, notwithstanding a *Protestant Hugonot confest the fact*; and my reason was, because no body in his Senses would be so foolish with deliberation to venture his life, when 'twas not only odds he should be found out, but the fire would be stopt before it came to the third house. How often have we seen it in the narrow places of *London*? how often in the *ill-building of Kings-street*? how often *in the Paper-houses of Charing Cross, the Strand? &c.* and yet for all this (whether it happened by night or by day) it was quencht without any remarkable spoil. Besides, 'tis impossible, if either Protestants, Papists, Presbyterians, or Phanatiques had effected so great a work but we should have seen some prosecution of their design, as either to be in Arms, or inviting in our forreing Enemies, or at least wise raising tumults in the hurry. But on the contrary, there has not been since any preparation for a rising in *England*; nay, which is more, for all that thirteen thousand Families were to seek new habitations, and all the rest of the Town disordered, yet there was not the least riot, though the accident it self might have occasioned a sedition, without being animated

by Conſpirators. In ſhort, after a ſtrict enquiry by the Parliament of *England* (that Supream Court) of the occaſion of this diſmal fire, 'twas concluded to *be the hand of God alone*: and therefore I ſhall never think otherwiſe of it, *though Hubert the Hugonot acknowledged himſelf the Author*, and [a] *Trig a Proteſtant brag's that he foretold it in his Almanack* printed almoſt a whole year before.

[a] *Vid.* Trigg's Almanack fo 1666. and repeated in that of 1668.

Now becauſe the Miniſter hath mentioned *Garnet*, I ſhall deſire you, Reader, to peruſe his [b] laſt words and confeſſion, as you ſhall find them in *How*, who continued *Stows* Hiſtory. *He acknowledged his foul offence in concealing the Treaſon; was ſorry for it, asking God forgiveneſs for the ſame, beſeeching a bleſſing for the King and his Iſſue; and then exhorted all Catholiques never to attempt Rebellion, Treaſon or violent practiſes againſt his Majeſty, for all ſuch courſes were utterly againſt the Catholick Faith.* If then, Reader, a Jeſuite known to be learned, and therefore not ignorant of the Doctrine of our Religion; if alſo a Jeſuite on the point of death, and ſo neceſſitated to ſpeak truth, hath publiquely owned (as a Proteſtant records) *that Rebellion is incompatible with Catholique Doc-*

[b] How p. 882.

*trine;*

*trine*; to affirm this ſtill to be our Principle, is certainly a very high injuſtice: and if the practice of ſome few ſhall yet be urged againſt me as a Proof, then I muſt affirm, that *the Church of England teaches Theft*, becauſe ſo many of their Members are monthly hanged for it at *Tyborn*.

Reader, from hence to the end I ſhall ſtill continue my firſt method of ſetting down the Miniſters Anſwer to every Section of the Apology; but I ſhall ſeldome Reply, becauſe the poorneſs of the matter carries a cõfutation in it ſelf, and therefore it would be a needleſs trouble both to you and me, if I ſhould ſay ſomething to each Paragraph.

## SECT. XXXVI. APOLOGY.

We muſt a little complain, finding it by experience, that by reaſon you diſcountenance us, the people rage: and again, becauſe they rage, we are the more forſaken by you. Aſſured we are, that our Converſation is affable, and our Houſes ſo many hoſpitable receipts to our Neighbours. Our acquaintance therefore we fear at no time, but it is the ſtranger we dread (that taking all on hear-ſay) zealouſly wounds, and then

examines the busines when 'tis too late, or is perchance confirmed by another, that knows no more of us then he himself. 'Tis to you we must make our applications, beseeching you (as subjects tender of our King) to intercede for us in the execution, and weigh the *Dilemma*, which doubtless he is in, either to deny so good a Parliament their request, or else run counter to his Royal inclinations, when he punishes the weak and harmless.

## ANSWER XXXVI.

*He says, he desires only to be safe; and against our dangerous Principles, neither our affability nor hospitality can defend them: for the* Irish *never treated Protestants better then the year a fore they cut their Throats. The best means of security is the execution of the Laws, by which those (that renounce their disloyal Principles) will be distinguisht, and the disloyal and seditious only kept weak.*

## REPLY XXXVI.

I have sufficiently treated the Irish Rebellion in the first *Reply*; neither have I bin wanting to shew you, that a Protestant Author, viz. [a] *Heath*, lays the cause of it on the English

[a] Vid. Rep. 13.

glish *Long-Parliament*, which occaſioned ſo many miſcheifes, & by their wicked beginnings againſt that *good Prince* encouraged the deſignes of the reſt of his ſeditious ſubjects: Nor had the *Scots themſelves* bin then wanting (by their actuall levying warr againſt their King, & correſponding with his forrain Enemies) to prick forward (ſeeing they were ſucceſſefull) all thoſe who ſtudied commotions & diſorders. Judge then whither they were the *Papiſts of England*, or the *Reformed* in both Kingdomes *of Great Brittain* that farthered the *Irish Rebellion*. But now that the Irish never treated Proteſtants better then the yeare before they cutt theire throats, is a foolish invention of this shameleſſe Miniſter, & nonſenſe in it ſelſe; Nor was it practicable, unleſſe the English had (like the *Iſraelites in Egypt*) bin ſojournours at will, & had nothing to doe with the Government. For would it not be a mad expreſſion to ſay that the *Hugonots of France* better treated this yeare the *Papiſts* there, then they had done before; or that the *Roundheads* treated the *Cavaliers* more kindly then they had done ſince the *Kings Reſtauration*. But this is *un Coup d'eſprit*, a peice of witt of the Worthy Miniſter, & truely ſo great

great a one that I admire it, & should doe it much more, were it not soe common.

## SECT. XXXVII. APOLOGY.

Why may not we, Noble Country-men, hope for favour from you, as well as the *French* Protestants find from theirs? A greater duty then ours none could express, we are sure. Or why should the *United Provinces*, and other Magistrates (that are harsh both in mind and manners) refrain from violence against our Religion, and your tender breasts seem not to harbour the least compassion or pity? These neighboring people sequester none for their Faith, but for transgression against the State; Nor is the whole party involved in the crime of a few, but every man suffers for his own and proper fault. Do you then the like, and he that offends let him die without mercy. And think always (we beseech you) of *Cromwels* injustice, who for the actions of some against his pretended Laws, drew thousands into Decimation (even ignorant of the thing) after they had vastlie paid for their securitie and quiet.

## ANSWER XXXVII.

*He says, he has answered our instances of* French *Protestants, and* Dutch *Papists. When*

we

*we governed the civilized World, he ſays, we hanged and burnt men for no cauſe but Faith; which proves Proteſtant Barbarity, better then Popiſh civility: yet theſe were little for their credit, unleſs they could ſay, that none of us ſuffered but by the known and neceſſary Laws of the Kingdom. 'Tis neceſſary to maintain the Kings Authority, and Peace of the Nation; and if we call Religion any thing contrary to theſe, whether ought they to alter their Laws, or we our Religion? He ſays, as Inquiſitors bedreſs one with Pictures of Devils, that is to be burnt for an Heretick, ſo I put* Cromwel *on any thing I would render odious, but they are weak, that ſee not the difference between* Cromwels *Edicts, that ruined men for Loyalty, and Laws that reſtrained them from Treaſon and Rebellion.*

## REPLY. XXXVII.

How childiſhly rediculous is this Miniſters Allegation, *That none of us ſuffered but by known Laws*? What does he mean? Did we ever (when we governed *England*) put any to death but by the known Laws eſtablished many hundred years before the Malefactors were born, and which are ſtill on foot, and *uſed to this day by Proteſtants againſt Hereticks*? But fully to reply to this

Anſwer

Anſwer, I cannot better do it, then by beſeeching you to read over this short Section of the Apology again, and then tell me, whether any requeſt can be more reaſonable and Chriſtian; or whether this way of involving the whole in the crimes of a few, be not exactly the Procedure of *Cromwel.*

SECT. XXXVIII. APOLOGY.

We have no ſtudie but the Glory of our Soveraingn, and juſt libertie of the Subjects.

ANSWER XXXVIII.

Sir, *If we may judge by your works, there is nothing leſs ſtudied in your Colledge.*

SECT. XXXVIIII. APOLOGY.

Nor was it a mean argument of our dutie, when every Catholique Lord gave his voice for the Reſtauration of Bishops; by which we could pretend no other advantage, but that 26. Votes (ſubſiſting wholly by the Crown) were added to the defence of Kingſhip, and conſequently a check to Anarchy and confuſion.

ANSWER XXXVIIII.

*This is no argument of your Duty, for ſure you are it no Lord. Nor is it likely, that theſe Lords followed your direction in the doing of this Duty.*

REP.

## REPLY to ANS. XXXIX.

Good Mr. Parſon, 'tis more then you know but that I am a Lord; yet whether I am or no, the Catholick Lords and I are of the ſame Loyal Principles, and what they did, any other Catholick would have done had he been Member of their Houſe.

## SECT. XL. APOLOGY.

'Tis morally impoſſible but that we who approve of Monarchy in the Church, muſt ever be fond of it in the State alſo.

## ANSWER XL.

*If you mean this of Papiſts in general, that which you mean morally impoſſible, is experimentally true. For in* Venice, Genoa, Lucca, *and other Popish Cantons of* Switzerland, *they very well approve of Monarchy in the Church, yet they are not fond of it in State alſo. But if you mean this of the Jeſuitical Party, then it may be true, in this ſence, that you would have the Pope to be ſole Monarch, both in Spirituals and Temporals.*

## REP. to ANSW. XL.

I think I have been as lately at *Lucca*,

*Genoa*, and *Venice*, and know the places as well as the Minister. 'T was not therefore my meaning, that there were no Popish States, but that generally Popery tends to Monarchy; and on the contraty, *Calvinism* (from which the Church of *England* differs only in Bishops) leans altogether to a Democratical Government. Heretofore (*in the Civil Wars of our Country*) there was never the least mention of a *Commonwealth*; but still the *Rebels would have a King*, and rather then fail, one of another *Kingdom*. I beseech God, that the present Principles have no other tendency but to Monarchy; for, Reader, you must know that Principles may blindly lead men to a thing, which not only their judgments, but their inclinations loath: as for example, the Reformed both in judgment and inclination desire unitie; but their Principles in spite of all endeavours will draw them (as we see by a hundred years experience) into perpetual confusion and discord.

## SECT. XXXXI. APOLOGY.

Yet this is a mis fortune we now plainly feel, that the longer the late transgressors live, the more forgotten are their crimes whil

whilſt diſtance in time calls the faults of our Fathers to remembrance, and buries our own allegeance in eternal Oblivion and forgetfulneſs.

## ANSWER XXXXI.

*We can now allow you to complain, and commend your ſelves without meaſure; having proved already, that you do it without cauſe.*

## SECT. XXXXII. APOLOGY.

*My Lords and Gentlemen*, Conſider we beſeech you, the ſad condition of the *Irish* Souldiers now in *England*, the worſt of which Nation could be but intentionallie ſo wicked, as the acted villanie of many *Engliſh*, whom your admired Clemencie pardoned. Remember how they left the *Spaniſh* ſervice when they heard their King was in *France*; and kow they forſook the emploiment of that unnatural Prince, after he had committed that never to be forgotten act of banishing his diſtreſſed Kinſman out of his Dominions. Theſe poor men left all again to bring their Monarch to his home, and ſhall they then be forgotten by You? Or ſhall my Lord *Douglas* and his brave *Scots* be left to their ſhifts, who ſcorn'd to

receive Wages of those that have declared War against *England*?

## ANSWER XXXXII.

*He says, That to swell our Bill of Merits, I take in the* Irish *and* Scotish *Souldiers, as if they were a part of* English *Catholicks, and as if I were the first that thought of them. God forbid, he says, they should not be considered; and he is neither good Christian, no, nor good Subject, that would not contribute his proportion to it. But, he says, I have a drift in mentioning the* Irish, *for I mingle them with the worst of that Nation, namely, with those infamous Butchers, that cut the throats of at least an hundred thousand Protestants. It was so black an action, that I knew not how to mention it, in its proper place, viz. after the* French *massacre, because I had not wherewith to colour it; but being still conscious it was a blot on our cause, I thought fit to place it here, that these brave men might mend the hue of the action. He says further, I deal as ill with the* English Royallists, *by affirming they pardoned many* English, *whose acted villanies were so wicked, that the worst of the* Irish *could be but intentionally so wicked.*

## REPLY to ANSW. XXXXII.

Pray, Reader, consider the wicked folly of

of this man, for here he denies us a part in the good actions of the *Irish*; and yet all along he has laid their ill actions at our door; nay, in this very Paragraph he twits us with it, when he says, *I was conscious it was a blot on our cause*: but I will pass by this as usual, and go on.

Truly, Reader, the case of the *Irish* in Arms, toucht me as neer as my own concerns; and pray see the strange Hypocrisie also of this Minister, that says *God forbid these poor Souldiers should not be considered, and that he is neither good Christian, nor Subject, that would not contribute to it*; and yet in the same exhortation, endeavours all he can to have the Laws executed, which must needs force these forlorn men either to beg or steal. By this we may find what his contribution is, and therefore God deliver all honest men from such a mercilesse creature: and was ever man so abominable (knowing many of the Kings Judges were pardoned) to reproach my assertion, that the worst of this Nation be but intentionally so wicked as the acted villany of many *English*, whom the clemencie of the Parliament pardoned? Is not this in plain terms, to say, that the businesse of *Ireland* was greater then the Rebellion

lion of England, and horrid Murther of our Gratious King, which has drawn an eternal disgrace upon the whole Nation in general? If this man, who uses the word *US* at every turn, (ranking himself thereby among the Royallists) be a Royallist, then I'll hereafter say, that *Bradshaw* was one also.

## SECT. XXXXIII. APOLOGY.

How commonly is it said, That the Oath of renouncing their Religion is intended for these? which will needs bring this loss to the King, and you, that either you will force all of our Faith to lay down their Arms (though by experience, of great integrity and worth) or else, if some few you retain, they are such whom Necessity has made to swear against Conscience, and therefore will certainly betray you, when a greater advantage shall be offered. By this test then, you can have none but whom with caution you ought to shun, and thus must you drive away those that truly would serve you; for had they the least thought of being false, they would gladly take the advantage of gain and pay, to deceive you.

## ANSWER XLIII.

*He asks me, who are said to intend this Oath,*

*if*

*if it be those that have no Authority, 'tis frivolous; if such as have Authority, 'tis false; and he farther says, that he verily believes, 'twas never said, thought, nor wisht by any one that loved either the King or Peace of the Nation.*

## REP. to ANS. XLIII.

The Minister is here just as he uses to be; for many were upon this account disbanded before he put out his Answer; and since, all the rest of the Catholiques have been cashiered, as 'twas expected by every body when he writ.

## SECT. XLIV. APOLOGY.

We know your wisdom and generosity, and therefore cannot imagine such a thing. Nor do we doubt when you shew favour to these, but you will use mercy to us, who are both fellow-Subjects, and your own flesh and blood also. If you forsake us, we must say, the world decays, and its final transmutation must needs quickly follow.

## ANSWER XLIV.

*Here you imagine for the Souldiers and imagine for your self: and as if you really thought your self in danger, you begg for mercy of the Royallists*

*Royallists, in such words as your Predecessor the* first Moderator *used to the Rebels. Only for the last strain, we do not know that any one hit upon it before; nor do believe, that any one will ever use it again.*

## SECT. XLV. APOLOGY.

Little do you think the insolencies we shall suffer by Committee-men, &c. whom chance and lot has put into petty power. Nor will it chuse but grieve you, to see them abused (whom formerly you loved) even by the Common Enemy of us both.

## ANSWER XLV.

*It seems Committee-men are intrusted with his Majesties Authority; or none must use it against Papists, for fear of being accounted Committee-men. It is time to have done, when we are come to the dregs of your Rhetorick.*

## SECT. XLVI. APOLOGY.

When they punish, how will they triumph and say, Take this (poor *Romanists*) for your love to Kingship; and again this, For your long doating on the Royal Party; all which you shall receive from us, Commissioned by your dearest friends, and under this

Cloak

Cloak we will glady vent our private ſpleen and malice.

## ANSWER XXXXVI.

*Sir, though you ſet your ſelf to ſpeak Tragically, this does rather ſeem a piece of Drollery. But you have your deſign either way; for no man can read it, but he muſt either laugh, or ſhake his Head.*

## SECT. XXXXVII. APOLOGY.

We know, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, that from your hearts you do deplore our condition; yet permit us to tell you, your bravery muſt extend thus far, as not to ſit ſtill with pity only, but each is to labour for the diſtreſſed, as far as in reality his ability will reach: ſome muſt beſeech our Gracious Soveraign for us, others muſt again undeceive the Good, though deluded Multitude. Therefore all are to remember who are the prime raiſers of the Storm, and how through our ſides they would wound both the KING and You; for though their hatred to our ſelves is great, yet the enmity out of all meaſure encreaſes, becauſe we have been yours (and ſo ſhall continue) even in the fiery day of trial.

Protect us we entreat you then upon all your former Promises; or if that be not sufficient, for the sakes of those that lost their Estates with you; many of which are now fallen asleep. But if this be still to weak, we must conjure you by the sight of this Bloody Catalogue, which contains the Names of your murthered Friends and Relations, who in the heat of Battail, perchance saved many of your Lives, even with the joyful loss of their own.

## ANSWER XLVII.

*To answer to this last, he has nothing to say, but that the Rebels harrassed the Papists, to make the King odious, and enrich themselves. That we were necessitated to what we did either for Subsistance or Protection, but the Protestants had no such necessity. Concerning the Estates we lost; the sum of his answer is, That after the Rebels had devoured ours, they fell upon the Protestants with more colour, and nevertheless appetite.*

## REPLY to ANSW. XLVII.

For our necessity (other then our Duty) to engage for his Majestie, I have answered it at large in the Preface. For the loss of our

Estates

Estates, I say here is an excelent encouragement for Subjects, according to this mans Doctrine. But I see by the whole manner of his writing, that he is some inconsiderable man, whose name would be as little known if prefixt, as it is now being concealed; and therefore there is no wonder if what he writ be inconsiderable also.

Concerning the Catalogue of those brave Catholicks that laid their lives down for their King, the Minister saith thus.

## ANSWER XLVIII.

*That he can reckon a far greater number of Protestants then I can pretend to do* Papists. *Secondly, that I have omitted many in my List; which he could name; but this he thinks was out of design, that I might more extusably reckon some names, which I ought to have omitted,* viz. *My Lord of* Carnarvan, *who he says in his extremities refused a Priest, and ordered the Chaplain of his Regiment to pray with him.*

## REPLY to ANSW. XLVIII.

For my Lord *Carnarvan*, Reader, you must know, he was a Ward taken by my Lord *Pembroke* from his *Catholique Mother*, and

then married to his Daughter. In the Army my Lord never marched without a Priest; whē he was wounded to death, he sent for his Brother in law the Lord *Herbert*, late M. of *Worster*, and desired him to go tell the King, *That he could do no more then die in his Quarrel; and if he would grant him but this request, he would think his Majesty sufficiently recompenced him for his life.* His petition was, *That his Mother might have the breeding up of his Son*; and the end of this he said was, *That the Child might be educated in the Catholick Religion.* After this he received all the rites of the *Roman* Church, and died in the arms of a Priest now alive, that belonged to many of my Lords Relations. Concerning my Catalogue in general, you must know, Reader, I have been often chid at *London* for omitting so many *considerable Catholicks*; but this I could not help, for the Catalogue was collected by Mr. *Blunt* (as I take it) who is to be much commended for his pains. When I printed the Apology, I was in such hast that I had not time to examine it nicely a mong my friends: I am now, Reader, also a great way from *London*, and therefore am forc'd to print it again without amendmēts; all that I can do at present is, to desire a leaf

or

rtwo of white paper be added, in which we may write down (as we shall from time to time be informed) the names of those *Heroick men, that died in defence of their King and Country*.

I wonder very much that this Minister is not ashamed to urge such a foolish thing, *viz. That more Protestants dyed in this War then of our Religion.* This no body doubts of, and may well be, seeing we are not the hundredth part of the Nation, and yet by my imperfect List it appears, that there were killed 190. *Catholiques of Quality*; when as (*by the List called the Royal-Martyr, and printed by* Thomas Newcomb 1660.) there died in the War but 212. *Protestants*, the rest there named being Papists, as you may see, if you compare their names with my Catologue. Let the Word then judge, whether we ought not to have some compassion shewed us, and not to be thus calumniated by every impertinent Scribler.

Reader, those that follow are the Ministers exhortations, which are so like the Pedantry of his pulpit, that they alone without the rest would have assured me of the Authors calling. That you may see what they are, I have divided them into eight several Advices or

Desires

Desires, for so he is pleased to call them.

First Sect. *He desires us to be content with our condition, and not undervalue the Liberty we now enjoy, if it exceed what was granted our Fathers.* To this I say, Reader, that we are contented with any favour; yet 'twould be no arrogance if we require more then our Fathers had, because it seems the *Minister counts them all Traytors*, when as we (as all the World knows) have shewn the utmost duty that Subjects can do.

Second Sect. *Not to proclaim about the World for the paring of our nayls that we are persecuted.* To this I will give a larger Answer in the *Postscript*; and will only say here, that I defie any man, to shew me in Christendome a Party that bears their misfortunes with more submission then we.

Third Sect. *To abhor them that wish disturbances or Invasions to settle Popery.* To this I say, I think that nothing can make it more manifest that we do abhor such men, then to see that all catholicks detested the *French*, eve then when we were *forsake by our friends, and they* (as most thought) *upp the point of lavding.*

Fourth Sect. *To keep our Religio to our selves, and not expect such harvests as we had in the late confusions.* I say, Truly we are like to keep

keep it to our ſelves, for 'tis too ſevere to be embraced by Worldlings: and if care be not taken, the ſame times will come again; for I am ſure, crying againſt *Papiſts* was then the former Prologue; and though the aim of wicked people be ſtill the ſame, I hope the Epilogue will be far different.

Fifth Sect. *Not to abuſe the weakneſs of dying perſons, nor convert the condemned Priſoners with drink, or by hopes of an eaſier way of ſalvation.* To this I anſwer, The Miniſter ought not to call the condition of dying perſons weak, becauſe he and his brethren have always found them ſtrong; for I think no man ever heard that a Catholick was converted by them at his death; and all have been able to reſiſt that in their Agony, to which worldly ends made ſome in their healths yeild. But now, if Catholicks have reconciled dying perſons, it muſt be wholly attributed to the truth of their Doctrine, for then all hopes of life being taken away, men will hearken to that reaſon, which during health (through temporal advantages) they earneſtly oppoſed: Nay, few of theſe, if they recover, turn back, but on the contrary perſevere. I ſay, theſe Converſions muſt needs proceed from the conviction of

the

the Truth, and not from hopes of any easier way of salvation, because the Protestant way is far easier, and naturally more sutable to the inclinatiõs of dying men; *For an ordinary trust in the merits of Christ, and an ordinary contrition (usual to all people that are said not to die ill) will, according to the Reformd Hypothesis, carry a man presently to Heaven*: when as this, in the opinion of any Catholicks, and of the Agonising party himself, will bring him at fartheſt but to *Purgatory*. The entrance into Heaven is not so easie a passage with us; for it must be obtained with long Mortifications, conflicts, and labours, far greater then those of *Hercules*; or else in men of ill lives, by some unexpressible energy at the last gasp, *like that of the Thief on the Cross*. Vain therefore is the imagination of Protestants, for we have no other means to convert men, but, as I said, the force of truth on their Consciences, which truth in that state they can discern (as men fallen into miserie, do oftentimes the vanities of the World) when as in strength of body (through humane desings) *like the adder, they stop their ears, let the Charmer charm never so sweetly*. Many advantages more (were it not time ho have done with the Minister)

Minister) could I shew, that the Protestants have naturally over Catholicks, in converting of dying people, but they never converted one (as I heard of) yet he confesses many have been by us.

Besides this, I beseech you, Reader, to look upon the lives of those that leave the Protestant Religion to come to us, and then shew me any one of them, that lives *worse then he did before.* Some perchance there be (and those almost as rare as black swans themselves) *that mend not the depravity of their first manners, though none*, as I said, *fall to worse*: but for the rest, they apparently cast off the old man, and shew the wonderful fruits of Grace by their holy life and conversation. On the other side, good Protestant Reader, name me that man amongst you, *who left the Catholique Church, and fell not immediately into all licentiousness and vice*; call but to mind *Gage, Cary, Rookwood, Carpenter, Macedo* the late converted *Portugeze*, or any other whom you please, and see, if they had *one unclean spirit* in them when they were Papists, whether *seven Divels*, each worse then the former, afterward entered not into them.

Truly, this is no wonder, because they,

forsook their Religion for liberty, and followed the pattern of Luther their first Master and Teacher. For, *he while he was a Monk punisht his body with watching and fasting*, as [a] *S. Voyon* a Protestant cōfesses. But afterwards he lived otherwise, as another [b] Protestant affirms: for he says, *That when Protestants would indulge their appetite, they would not be ashamed to use these words; Let us live Luther-like to day.*

[a] Catal. Doct. p. 180. [b] Mor. de Eccl. p. 221.

Sixth Sect. *Not to hinder the course of Justice on Criminals because they are Papists.* To this I say, I understand not what he means; but if any *Papist* has sollicited for another of his Religion which was to die, I think 'tis not unlawful: No man of any Religion being denied to use their endeavours to save their Friends and Relations, that fall by chance into these misfortunes. But herein we shall obey his advice, for (unless it be by some unphappy duells) the Catholicks come seldome within the the reach of Criminal Laws.

Seventh Sect. *That Priests disguize not themselves like Hectors, and poyson Clubs and Coffee houses with Phanatick discourses.* To this I answer, that if Phanaticism be the discourse of a Priest, I doubt this Minister

is

is one alſo; for never did *Jacob Behmen*, *Stifler*, or any of the *Fraternity* write more malitious, ſelf contradicting things then he; or that have in them more inferences of confuſion and diſorder. In the next place, if *Prieſts diſguize themſelves*, I think 'tis not their faults; and if the Miniſter will get them liberty to wear their habit, I will be bound they ſhall never go more in *Maſcarade*. Beſides, being thus known by every body, we then ſhall plainly ſee, who they be that at Taverns and Meeting-places corrupt the Youth. And truly, Reader, I am very morally certain, that this *Anſwerer* is a haunter of them, for the old Proverb tells us *who calls Whore firſt*.

Eighth Sect. *That Prieſts and Ieſuites fill not the World with Pamphlets*, Philanaxes, *Exhortations*, *Apologies*, &c. *which ſerve* (he ſays) *only to ferment mens paſſions, and not to convince their Reaſons. If we come into the fair field of Controverſie, we ſhal not be declined; and the Miniſter thinks his party not indebted to us upon that account*. Good Mr. Parſon, you very well know that the *Philanaxes*, *Exhortations*, *Apologies*, &c. were writ by *Lay-men*, and therefore you might have ſpared this laſt advice, ſince 'twas as needleſs as the reſt of your

false and malitious writing.

And by the way remember how you have perverted and falsely commented on a Loyal mans learned work, *this very Exhortation which you mention.* His words, Reader, are these: *As for the Roman Pastors indirect power over Kings* in ordine ad Spiritualia, *by which the Sea Apostolical in some rare Cases hath (at the request of all Christians) proceeded to censure, and deprive Kings (a thing so much talkt of, and so little understood by the Reformed Divines) I leave that Question to be decided by the two Supream Powers when occasion shall be for it, which may not happen to the end of the World: It being a very rare Case, in which it were not better that such matters were wholly left till the day of Judgment.* Now the sum of this is, as the Minister says, that if the Pope should deprive our King, *this Catholick* would not meddle between them. When as his true meaning was, *That this case between Popes and Kings* will happē seldome, if ever; and should it happen, he will not as to the right (or, *via juris*) determine the nice pretensions of each party; yet this does not argue, but that he would side, as to action (or, *via facti*) *with his Prince against any person whatsoever.* And thus we daily see the

*French*

*French* do, who swear they cannot tell whether the *Law called Salique* be forged; or whether in Justice *the now Male-Line*, or *the English* (becauſe deſcended from the Heirs general) ought to have the Kingdom; but ſtill they declare, they will fight for their preſent Monarch againſt all Mankind. This, I ſay, is the ſenſe of the Author of the Exhortation, and *this I dare ingage he ſhall ſubſcribe to.*

Now concerning *Philanax*, how poorly it is anſwered, I believe the Miniſter would be aſhamed to confeſs: and yet (how poorly ſoever) he has made uſe of it; *Nay of the moſt contemptible and groundleſs follies in the whole Book.* I am ſure, the man needed not to have challenged us into the fair field of Controverſie, having there-in been more then Combatants, ever ſince the breaking out of *Luther*. Nor can there be any Argument of more generous bravery then this, That though our Prieſts in *England* have been hunted from hole to hole, their Papers often ſeized, ſome in the midſt of their works hanged, no Library, no Preſs, and if to day well ſettled, perchance forc'd on the morrow to flie; yet for all theſe diſavantages (which no Proteſtant feels) they never omitted to write

write things of uſe, or to anſwer all ſorts of Books, that durſt appear againſt our Religion or manners. Fear not therefore, good Miniſter, that either *Clergy* or *Laity* will be behindhand with you in this affair; and I think Dr. *Pierce will tell you he found it to ſome purpoſe from both* Nor ſhall you, Sir, whilſt I live (be ready again, as ſoon as you pleaſe) want an humble Servant to ſhew you your many willful errors and miſtakes.

THE

# THE POSTSCRIPT.

*My Lords and Gentlemen:*

YOu have now had a short view of the malice of the *Answerer*, and of our condition; nor have I troubled you with points of Divinity, it being out of my Road, and more particulary belonging to them, who are called to be Guides, and make it their Profession to studie Controversie. The search into History and Annals of Nations is the fit employement of men of Quality; for by it (having a view of all that is past) we presently find what profits your Country, and how good men (by false representations) may pass for abominable, even in the thoughts of sober people. In this sort who have ever suffered more then we? for often the best of our fellow-Subjects (having drawn in with their first milk, an ill opinion of our manners) have continued in the same sentiment,

till

till by long experience they plainly found the contrary.

How oppoſite is Popery noiſed to the Grandeur of Kings! and yet we ſee, *That* [a] *Kings were never greater than then.* What exclamations are there to this day againſt us for our ſtirs in the beginning of Reformation! though it is evident it proceeded *not from precepts of Faith, but from a natural* [b] *impulſe to oppoſe Novelties.* Nay, the efforts of our Anceſtors *for the Royal* [c] *Houſe of Scotland* are laid to our charge as High-Treaſon; but the putting up of [d] *Jane Gray for the Proteſtant Intereſt* was juſtice, even by the preaching of Dr. *Ridley*. And moreover, though *but thirteen Papiſts were drawn into the* [e] *powder Treaſon, by the dexterity of our Enemies*, yet we all (even the Children of many of the great Catholiques that were to have been deſtroyed by the Traytors) are ſtill held guilty of this Original ſin. After our proneneſs to Rebellion (in which how little we are faulty, and how [f] *much others have been*, let the World judge) there's no Principle poſſeſſes the imagination of *Engliſhmen* ſo fully, as that we delight in Blood, and that perſecuting of men is a part of our Doctrine. What cries therefore have been againſt the

a Vid. Pref.

b Pref.

c Rep. 18.

d Rep. 22.

e Rep. 18.

f Rep. 6.

they days of Queen *Mary*, as if her cruelty were unparallell'd! when as I have made it appear, *that more Catholiques have died by Protestants, then of them by us*; and that since the exclusion of the Pope, there has been a greater quantity of Blood iudicially spilt amongst us, then from the Conversion of *England* to the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth. The Massacre of *France* is prov'd (you see) to *have bee̅ no*[b] *effect of Religiō*, but an indirect endeavour to suppress Rebelliō. Nor are we in *England* (*abominating the fact*) more guilty of the *Irish Cruelties*, then is the *Protestant Faith* for what was done at *Amboyna*.

[a] Rep. 18.

[b] Rep. 18.

[c] Rep. 1.

For my own part, I not only detest Blood, but find all Catholicks do; for if in many Countries (where the Prince and people, as I shewed you before, are Catholicks) the Protestants have not only open Churches, but *also publick employments*, and in no place this is granted by the Reformed to Papists; then must it needs follow, that we are much kinder to you, then you to us, even in the matters of Religion. Besides this, Catholicks are so tender, that the *Inquisition it self* is permitted in no Kingdom where Heresie is numerous: nor ought we to be blamed, if (in a Country wholly obedient to the

Church ) we ſtrive to keep out all other Sects and opinions.

This cannot be iniuſtice, becauſe to all Mankind we grant the ſame liberty. Who is it, that morally blames the *Moors of Affrick (being of one Profeſſion )* for keeping out even the Goſpel it ſelf? Or who is it, that ſays the *Swedes* ar inhumane, becauſe *none except Lutherans ſhall live among them?* God alone is to judge hereafter of mens neglecting means. In *England* therefore, where all fell not from Popery, there is not the ſame juſt motive for punishment; and certainly it is ſeverity in the higheſt degree, to proſecute us with fire and ſword, as if we were an upſtart people, that *brought in a ſtrange Religion, not finding it here before. Ethelbert* the firſt *Engliſh* King that profeſt Chriſtianity ( and *converted alſo by a Monk* ) never perſecuted his *Pagan Subjects*, becauſe their Religion was in poſſeſſion: and yet no conſideration is thought fit for Papiſts, though our *moſt fundamental Laws have eſtablisht this Faith*; and the maintenance of it ſworn unto ( ſince the Conqueſt ) *by at leaſt twenty of our Monarchs.*

Catholicks conſider Sectaries, as Magiſtrates do Rebels: for where they are but very few, they

they may perchãce all ſuffer according to the eſtablishtt Laws of a Natiõ, but if they grow numerous, pity cauſes us now to punish nobody with death, but thẽ prayers, thẽ preaching, then Books &c. are *the fitteſt Arms* to deſtroy thẽ. This makes us ſevere in *Spain* and *Italy*, and this merciful in *Frãce*, *Germany*, &c. yet here in our Country, there are Sanguinarie Laws againſt *Lay-men*, and our *Prieſts* have been handled with more ſeuerity then *Iames Naylor*, or any of his Diſciples. What advãtage will Perſecutiõ bring, but to make us glory that we ſuffer for Chriſt? nor has it ever yet leſsned our nomber. No good therefore, I am ſure, can come to *Proteſtants* by it, much harm perchance may; ſince it will ſtir up *Catholique Governours* to uſe the like ſeverity to *diſſenting Subjects*, who otherwiſe might live in greater tranquillity and eaſe. 'Tis not we that proclaim our perſecution (as this Miniſter taxes us) in forreign parts, but the *Agents of Princes*, who comment as they pleaſe on things, and fill *Europe* with noiſe, that the *Engliſh* of all people are moſt ungrateful, being earneſt to have that done againſt their *tried friends*, which *Cromwel* was almoſt aſhamed to do, *though we were his profeſ't and ſworn Enemies.*

I shall never omit to render my thanks to Almighty God, that I know not one who staggers the least in duty for all this our reproach and suffering: Who is it that now loves the *Dutch* one whit the more? or who is it that contemns not a *Frenchman* whilst he is an Enemy to *England*? Nor did ever any Party in this Isle (*That deemed it self oppress by Laws*) before fail of favouring those, that were in hostility with the Kingdom. The *Presbyterians in Scotland* were up actually in a Arms when two the powerfullest
a 1666. Nations of *Europe*, assisted also with *Denmark* made the last War upon us. And for the *Independants*, all who were in pay in *Holland*, *openly abjured their Countrey*, and many of them headed by *Doleman*, did us the *mischief at Chattam*: for forreign Nations must never hope to foil the *English*, without the additional courage of *English*.

Just contrary to this has been the procedure of Catholicks; for not only the *Scotish Papists* with their Commander my Lord *Douglas* left *France* upon the breach, but valiantly also fought with the loss of many of their lives, when those *Traytors* (as I said at *Chattham*) assisted the *Dutch* last summer. I need not repeat how zealous the

*Popish*

*Popish Guards* were in all theſe three years Wars, every body being an eye-witneſs of it; and for the *Papiſts abroad*, I am ſure they have been ſo earneſt for the Honor of the Nation, that at *Paris*, *Flandres*, *Rome*, *Liege*, &c. they were ſtill detecting the *Dutch forgeries*, and proclaiming our Victories to all People. Nay the *Hollãders* were ever ſo ſenſible of the fervour of the *Engliſh* Catholicks in behalf of their *Country*, that when *De Wit* was ſoliciting for a Guard, he cauſed it to be publiſhed in the *Gazzets of Amſterdam*, that he was in danger of his life, *for that two of our Jeſuits had undertaken to kill him*. Conſider therefore (Loyal Sirs) our ſervices: and though in themſelves they are but Duties, yet Duties may ſometimes merit a reward, at leaſt for the inciting of others.

Nothing aſſuredly can ever ſettle more our Country in peace, then the *free liberty of Religion*: and if the tenderneſs of the Kings heart (as all the world knows him merciful) ſhould move him to hear the cry of his late Enemies, and grant them the enjoyment of their Conſciences; certainly no body could think it ſtrãge, if he gave the ſame freedom to us his friends, who never yet deſerted him or his Father in their greateſt misfortu-

nes

nes and ſufferings. Nay, moreover, if there be ſtill pity left amongſt mankind, upon that ſcore alſo (*had Papiſts no other Plea*) we might more juſtly pretend to *Indulgence* then any *Nonconformiſt* whatſoever. For none of the *Sects* can in reality alledge more, then *that the Proteſtant manner of worship is nauſeous, and of no edification to them*: my Reaſon is, becauſe we ſee at leaſt the Rich in all Countries *go often to Church*, and yet are owned ſtill members by the Party. Now ſuch a Conformity is diametrically oppoſite to the Conſcience of a Catholick, *and any ſuch Communion is a deadly ſin*. We are not here to Diſpute, whether Papiſts are not too ſcrupulous: for this Argument may be uſed againſt any one of a contrary Judgmēt. But ſuppoſing ſuch and ſuch things are the points of a *Religion*, and favour deſired in the ſuſpenſion of Laws; I ſay, Mercy is fitter for them, that according to the *profeſſion of their Faith*, cannot comply without ſinning, then for thoſe that do it without ſuch offence: and truly, I am not ſo diſingenious as to believe, that were this Conformity in their own Opinion a ſin, that ſo many perſons of all Orders amongſt the *Presbiterians* and *Independents* would have gone to *Church*,

or

or that their respective *Congregations* would have still received them as theirs.

This favour I crave, I wish for all people as well as for my self: for I cannot be so partial as to think my Conscience ought not to be forced, and yet that my Neighbour may dispence with the scruples he finds in his. Punishment never lessens the Resolutiõs of Christiãs, but always heightens *Zeal*, and draws sometimes well-meaning men into those Leagued *Factions*, which ease and favour would assuredly have prevented.

What thoughts can men have when they find not themselves oppresst, but the publick interest of their Country? It follows not also, that Toleration prejudices the esta-blisht *Religion of a Nation*; for experimentally we see, the *Calvinists of France* never had fewer *Proselytes* then when they were secureſt from Massacres, and the like. Whilst the House of *Valois* was in being, which used the great rigour they speake of, their History declares how *numerous* they grew; but since those of *Burbon* were Kings, who toucht neither Life nor Estate (only took away Garisons, the Nests of Rebellion) I never found they much *vaunted* in theire *Conversions* and increase.

My

*My Lords and Gentlemen*, Religion is God Almightie's own Cauſe, and (for manifeſtation of the Elect) *Hereſies* are permitted. 'Tis he only (and that at the laſt day alſo) that ſhall ſatisfactorily convince us all, who is in the right: *Perſecution* therefore may eaſily diſioint a *Kingdom*, but can never deſtroy this *Hydra* when she is fully rouz'd.

But now afore I end, I muſt here declare, if any other ill men (ſuch as this Miniſter and his *Momentous friend* who writ the *Diſcourſe of the Religion of England*) hope by Perſecution of Papiſts, to make us the leſs paſſionate for the Government when their Plots are ripe, they cozen themſelves, and reckon without their Hoſt: for the Travellers-Cloak (*which is our tried Allegeance to lawful Power*) can never be blown off by a Wind. And if Papiſts were ſo fleeting, as for affliction to renounce a duty, which they hold be the Command of God; why should they, do you think, ſuffer for Conſcience, ſince by going to Church, or taking Oaths, they may, when they pleaſe, enjoy the ample Priviledges of their Birthright? Take this therefore for a certain Maxime, *That he who is faithful to God, can never be unfaithful to his Country*: and I am ſure in all kinds of diſorders

disorders about *Religiõ* here at home, the *Reformed* in each of their respective *Sects* have been far more faulty then we; if we consider (as I said) what was done against Queē *Mary*, *the usage of the Queē* of scots, *or the late unparallel'd Rebelliõ*: neither for these many years have the *Papists* been struck at, but that the *Bishops* and Church of *Englād* felt also the blow: and how much *Episcopacy* is advātageous to *Monarchy*, none can be now ignorant. Who therefore, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, will be so little pitied as you, if you should be twice deceived after the same method and māner?

But to conclude, no Kingdom (I dare say) looses so much as ours by their cry against Catholicks: for 'tis very certainly true, were not this a Bar (and he who doubts it, will soon be convinc'd, let him step but beyond Sea) that the *Spanish Provinces in the Netherlāds* (and for a small matter with their Kings consent, as his case lately stood) would joyfully put themselves under the *gentle yoak* of our easie Government: nor are they in *Normandy* shie to say, that had not *Papists* been so harrassed with us, they would not have slipt so many late oportunities of returning to their *Lawful Duke and Soveraign*.

FINIS.

READer, *I hope this Impreſſiõ will be better thẽ the laſt, which was very falſely printed; For the Printer not only Italicated where he should not, and omitted it where he should, but alſo left out ſome words, and changed others, as if there had been a private correſpondency, betweene my Adverſary and him; for ſoe, I le aſſure yow, I am informed. The only alteration, I make, is putting the Citations out of the Margent into the body of the treatiſe, for I found that it diſtracted, or at leaſt much interupted the Reader in often running from one place to another, eſpecially if what I quoted were long. I have alſo added to the liſt more Catholiques of qualitty, that loſt their lives for the King. The names I receiv'd from ſome Ladyes of their Relations, who are now become Religious at Paris. I have plac't them by themſelves after all, to put the Readers in mind, that they forgett not to inſert alſo thoſe whom hereafter they shall have notice of; and had I time to ſend to friends, I doubt not but the increaſe would be conſiderable.*

The

A

# CATOLOGUE

OF THOSE

# CATHOLICKS

THAT DIED AND SVFFERED

FOR THEIRE LOYALTY.

THe Earl of Carnarvan, slain at *Newbury* first Battle.

Lord Viscount Dunbar at *Scarborough*, and two of his sons much wounded.

*Knights.*

Sir John Smith, Banneret (who rescued the Kings Standard from the Rebels at *Edgbil*) slain at *Alresford* in *Hampshire*.

Sir John Cansfield, wounded at *Neubury*, of which he died a lingring death.

Sir Hen. Gage (Governour of *Oxford*) slain at *Collumbridge*, 11. *Jan.* 1644.

Sir J. Digby wounded at *Taunton*, and died at *Bridgewater*.

Sir P. Brown wounded at *Naseby*, died at *Northampton*.

Sir Nich. Forteſcue, Knight of *Malta*, ſlain in *Lancashire*.

Sir Troylus Turbervil, Captain-Lieut. of the Kings Life-Guard, ſlain upon his Majeſties marching from *Newark* to *Oxford*.

Sir J. Preſton, wounded at *Furnace*, of which he died a lingring death.

Sir Arthur Aſton (Gouvernour of *Redding*) ſlain at *Tredaugh* in cold blood.

Sir Thomas Tildeſly, ſlain at *Wiggan*.

Sir Hēry Slingsby beheaded on *Towerhill*.

*Colonels.*

Col. Th. Howard (ſon of the Lord William Howard) ſlain at *Peirsbridge*.

Col. Tho. Howard (ſon of Sir Francis) at *Atherton-Moor*: The gaining which Battle was principally aſcrib'd to his Valour.

Col. Tho. Morgan of *Weſton* in *Warwicksh.* ſlain at *Newb.* firſt battle: he raiſed a Regiment of Horſe for the King at his own charge, and his Eſtate was given to Mr. *Pyms* ſon.

Col. Cuthbert Conniers, at *Malpaß*.

Col. Tho. Dalton of Thurnham, mortally wounded at *Newbury* ſecond battle, and died at *Marlborough*.

Col. Francis Hungate, ſlain at *Cheſter*.

Col. Poor (Gouvernour of *Berkley* Caſtle) neer *Lidney*. Col.

Col. Will. Ewre (ſon to the late Lord Ewre) at *Marſton-Moor.*

Col. Ra. Pudſey, at --

Col. Cuthert Clifton, ſlain at *Mancheſter.*

Col. Caſſey Bental, at *Stow* in the *Wolds.*

Col. Trollop, ſlain at *Wiggan.*

Col. William Bains at *Malpaß.*

Col. William Walton, at *Tredagh.*

Col. Rich. Manning, at *Alresford.*

*Lieut. Colonels.*

Lieut. Col. Thomas Markham of *Allerton*, ſlain neer *Gainsborough.*

L. Col. Lancelot Holtby, at *Branceford.*

L. Col. Haggerſton at *Preſton.*

L. Col. Pavier, at *Linc.*

L. Col. Jordan Metham, at *Pontefract.*

L. Col John Godfrey. at *Tewksbury.*

L. Col. George Preſton, at *Bradford.*

L. Col. Will. Houghton, at *Newbury.*

Lieut. Col. Phil. Howard, ſlain at *Cheſter.*

L. Col. Middleton, at *Hopton-Heath.*

L. Col. Michael Conſtable, there alſo.

L. Col. Sayr, at *Nasby.*

L. Col. Scot, at *Alresford.*

L. Col. Thomas Salvin, at --

L. Col. Richard Brown, at --

L. Col. Goodridge wounded at -- and died at *Oxford.*

L. Col. Congrave, ſlain at Dean in *Glouceſt.*

*Serjeant-Majors.*

Major Cuſand, ſlain at the taking of *Baſing* in cold blood.

Major Rich. Harborn wounded at *Malpaß*, dy'd at *Kendal.*

Major T. Vavaſor, ſlain at *Marſton-Moor.*

Maior Panton, wounded at *Cover*, dy'd at *Highmeadow.*

Major Hudleſton, ſlain at *York.*

Maj. Thomas Ewre, at *Newbury* 1.

Major Lawrence Clifton, at *Shelfordhouſe.*

Maior Thomas Heskith, at *Malpaß.*

Maj. William Leak, at *Newbury* 1.

Maj. Rively, wounded at *Naſeby*, dy'd priſoner at *London.*

Maj. Richard Sherburn, at ---

Maj. Holmby, at *Henly.*

Major Rich. Norwood, ſlain before *Taunton.*

*Captains.*

Captain Marmaduke Conſtable, Standard-bearer to L. Gen. Lindſey, ſlain at *Edgehill.*

Capt. Wil. Laborn, and Cap. Mat. Anderton, at *Sheriff-hutton* in *Yorkshire.*

Capt. Joſeph Conſtable, at *Newbury.*

Captain Wiburn, ſlain at *Baſing* in oold blood.

Capt.

Capt. Burgh, ſlain at *Cover*.

Capt. Thurſton Anderton, wounded at *Newbury*, died at *Oxford*.

Cap. Haggarſton (eldeſt ſon of Sir Thomas) in *Lancashire*.

Cap. Anthony Rigby, at *Bazing-houſe*.

Capt. Richard Bradford, at ---

Capt. Kenelm Digby (eldeſt ſon of Sir Kenelm Digby) raiſed a Troop of Horſe at his own charge, and was ſlain at *St. Neotes*.

Capt. Ratcliff Houghton, at *Preſton*.

Capt. Rob. Molineux of the Wood in *Lancashire*, ſlain at *Newbury* 1.

Capt. Charl. Thimelby, at *Worceſter*.

Capt. Robert Townſend, at *Edge-hill*.

Captain Matthew Ratcliff, neer *Henly*.

Capt. Richard Wolſole, at *Newbury*.

Capt. Anthony Awd.

Capt. Thomas Cole, at *Newark*.

Capt. Partiſon, at *Wiggan*.

Capt. Maximil. Nelſon, at *Marſton-moor*.

Capt. Fran. Godfrey, ſlain at *Sherburn*.

Capt. Tho. Meynel, at *Pontefract*.

Capt. John Clifton, at *Shelford-houſe*.

Capt Abraham Lance.

Capt. Robert Lance, at *Rowton* in *Cheſh*.

Capt. Anth. Hamerton, neer *Mancheſter*.

Capt. Will. Symcots, Capt. Lieut. to the

the Lord Piercy, slain at *Newberry* 1.

Capt. Tho. Singleton, at *Newberry* 1.

Captain Francis Errington of *Denton* in *Northumberland*, at *Rotheran.*

Captain George Singleton, at ---

Capt. Mich. Fitzakerly at *Liverpool.*

Capt. Daniel Thorold, at *Nasby.*

Capt. Franc. Clifton, at *Newberry* 1.

Capt. John Lance, at *Islip.*

Capt. George Cassey, at *Hereford.*

Capt. Langdale, at *Greekhovel* in *Wales.*

Capt. Carver, in *Monmouthshire.*

Capt. John Lingen, *Ledbury.*

Capt. Samways, at *Newberry* 2.

Captain John Plumton, slain at *York.*

Capt. Pet. Forcer, at ---

Capt. Thomas Whittinghã, at *Newberry.*

Capt. Winkley, at *Leverpool.*

Capt. Thomas Anderton, at ---

Capt. Rich. Walmsly, at *Ormschurch.*

Capt. John Swinglehurst, and Capt. John Butler, at *Marston-moor.*

Capt. George Holden, at *Usk.*

Capt. Richard Latham, at *Litchfield.*

Capt. Tho. Charnock, at —

Capt. Rob. Dent, at *Newcastle.*

Capt. Thomas Heskith, and Capt. John Knipe, at *Bindle.*

Capt

Capt. Thomas Eccleſton, at ---

Capt. John Hotherſal, Capt. Nic. Anderton, at *Greenoo-Caſtle.*

Capt. Anthony Girlington, *Lancaſter.*

Capt. Francis Rous, in *Dean-Forreſt.*

Capt. Randolph Wallinger, at *Cover.*

Capt. Chriſtoph. Wray, ſlain at *Bradford.*

Capt. Wil. Rookwood, at *Alresford.*

Capt. Rob. Rookwood, at *Oxford.*

Capt. Hoskins, ſlain at *Lidney* in cold blood.

Capt. Phil. Darey, at ---

Capt. Wil. Jones, at *Ragland.*

Capt. Henry Wells, wounded at *Newberry* 2. died in priſon at *London.*

Capt. Richardſon, ſlain before *Taunton.*

Captain Tho. Madden, ſlain in *Wood-ſtreet* by the Fanaticks, *Jan.* 1660.

*Inferiour Officers.*

Lieut. Will. Butler, ſlain at *Newberry.*

Lieut. Rich. Osbalſton, at *Leeds.*

Lieut. George Hotherſal, at *Leverpool.*

Lieutenant William Girlington, at --

Lieutenant John Kulcheth, at *Worral.*

Lieut. William Singleton, at *Marſton.*

Lieut. Peter Boardman, at *Bradford.*

Lieutenant Short, ſlain neer *Gloceſter.*

Lieut. Rich. Bradford, at *Blechington.*

Lieutenant James Bradford, at ---

Lieut. Tho. Kirfman at *Lincoln*.
Lieutenant John Birch, at *Birmicham*.
Lieutenant Staley, at *Rushall-Hall*.
Cornet William Culchereth, at *Newberry*.
Cor. Deinton, at *Cardiff*.
Cor. Robert Lance, in *Cheshire*.
Cor. Edward Walker, at *Burton*.
Cor. Miles Lochard, at *Gooderidge*.

*Gentlemen-Volontairs*.

Mr. Edward Talbot (brother to the now Earl of Shrewsbury) slain at *Marston-moor*.
Mr. Char. Townly, and Mr. Charles Sherburn, there also.
Mr. Nicolas Timelby, at *Bristow*.
Mr. Pool of *Worral*, at ---
Mr. John Tipper, at *Newnam*.
Mr. Christopher Blount, at *Edgbalston*.
Mr. Theodore Mouse, at *Langport*.
Mr. Gerard Salvin, at ---
Mr. Francis Darcy, at --
Mr. Wiburn.
Mr. Robert Bowles. } at *Basing*.
Mr. Wil. Stoner.
Mr. Price of *Washingly* in *Northamptonsh.* slain at *Lincoln* in cold blood.
Mr. Cuthbert Ratcliff, slain at *Newcastle*.
Mr. Thomas Latham, at *Newarck*.
Mr. Andrew Giffard, at *Hampton*.

Mr

Mr. Lewis Blount, at *Manchester.*
Mr Cary, and M Gennings, at *Shelfordhouse.*
Mr. James Anderton, in *Wales.*
Mr. Thomas Roper, at *Gootheridge.*
Mr. Stephen Pudsey, in *Holderness.*
Mr. Francis Pavier, at *Marston.*
Mr. James Banton, at *Cover.*
Tho. Pendrel, at *Stow.*
Mr. Boniface Kemp, and Mr. Ildefons Hesket, slain neer *York* in cold blood.
Mr. Mich. Wharton, at *Scarborough.*
Mr. Errington, at *Chester.*
Tho. West by Doctor of Physick, at *Preston.*
Mr. Peter Davis, at *Denbigh.*
Mr. Edward Davis, at *Chester.*
Mr. Bret, at ---
Mr. Roger Wood, at *Chester.*
Mr. Henry Lawson, at *Melton.*
Mr. Tho. Craithorn the elder, at *Uphaven.*
Mr. Henry Johnson, at ---
Three sons of Mr. Kitby of *Ratcliff.*
John Witham.
Wil. Selby. } at *Preston.*

John 15. 13.

*Greater love then this no man hath, then that one lay down his life for his friend.*

Major General Will. Web so wounded at *Newberry* by Case-shot, that he lives a dying life.

*The Names of such Catholicks, whose Estates (both Real and Personal) were sold, in pursuance of an Act made by the Rump, July 16. 1651. for their pretended Delinquency: that is, for adhering to their King.*

IOh. Lord Marquess of *Winchester*, who so valiantly defended *Basing-house*.

Henry Lord Marquess of *Worcester*, who has been at least 300000 *l.* loser by the War.

Francis Lord Cottington.

Lord John Sommerset.

Marmaduke L. Langdale, and his son.

Sir John Winter, who so stoutly defended *Lidney-house*

Sir Thomas Tildesly himself slain, and his Estate sold.

Sir Hen. Slingsby, beheaded at *Tower-hill*, and his Estate sold.

Sir Piercy Herbert, now Lord Powys.

Sir Francis Howard.

Sir Henry Bedingfield.

Sir Arthur Aston, Governour of *Reading*.

Sir Tho. Haggerston.

Rog. Bodenham, Esq;

Charles Townly, Esq;

Rowland Eyre, Esq;

Peter Pudsey, Esq;

Sir

John Giffard, Esq;.

*Other Catholicks, whose Estates were sold by the Additional* Rump-Act, *made* Aug. 4. 1652.

HEnry Lord Viscount Dunbar and his so.
Sir Wil. Vavasor.
Sir Edw. Ratcliff.
Thomas Clifton, Esq;.
Peter Gifford of *Chillington*, Esq;.
Walter Fowler of *St. Thomas* Esq;.
Thomas Brook of *Madely*, *Esq*;.
Francis Biddulph of *Biddulph*, *Esq*;.
William Middleton of *Stocton*, *Esq*;.
Nicholas Errington, *Esq*;.
Lance Errington *Esq*.
Henry Errington, *Esq*;.
John Jones of *Dingestow*, *Esq*;.
John Weston, *Esq*;.
Phil. Hungate, *Esq*;.
Rob. Dolman, Gent.
Rich. Masley, Gent.
Geo. Smith, Gent.
Ralph Pudsey, Gent.

*More Catholicks, whose Estates were sold by another* Rump-Act, *made* Novemb. 18. 1652.

HEnry Lord Arundel of *Wardor*, who raised a Regiment of Horse for the King, and whose Castle of *Wardor* was so gallatly defended against *Edward Hungerford*.

Henry

Henry Lord Marley and Monteagle.

William Lord Ewre.

William Lord Powis, who kept long his caſtle of Powis againſt the enemy, and afterwards taken in it; and thereupon was kept a great while priſoner at *Stafford*, and died in durance at *London*.

Lord Charles Somerſet.

*Sir* Walter Blount, long a priſoner in the *Tower*.

*Sir* Edw. Widdrington, who raiſed a Regiment of Horſe.

*Sir* Richard Tichburn.

*Sir* Charles Blount (ſlain alſo by one of his own Captains.)

*Sir* J. Clavering dy'd a priſoner at *Lond.*

*Sir* Iohn Canſield.

Sir Iohn Timelby of *Ernam.*

Sir Philip Conſtable.

Sir Edward Plumpton.

Sir Nicholas Thornton, who raiſed a Troop of Horſe at his own charge.

Hugh Anderton of *Exton, Eſq;*

Thomas Langtree of *Langtree, Eſq;*

Will. Hoghton, *Eſq;*

William Hesketh, *Eſq;*

William Latham, *Eſq;*

Tho. Singleton, *Eſq;*

Iohn Westby, *Esq*;.
Sir Edward Charlton.
William Sheldon of *Beely*, *Esq*;.
William Gage of *Bently*, *Esq*;.
Tho. Clavering, *Esq*;.
Iohn Plumpton, *Esq*;.
Marm. Holby, *Esq*;.
Hen. Englefield, *Esq*;.
Robert Wigmore, *Esq*;.
Rob. Cramblington, *Esq*;.
Will. Sherburn, *Esq*;.
Iohn Constable, *Esq*;.
Richard Latham, *Esq*;.
William Bawd, *Esq*;.
Iames Anderton of *Birchley*, *Esq*;.
Thomas Singleton, *Esq*;.
Iohn Talbot *Esq*;.
Nich. Fitzakerly, *Esq*;.
Iohn Piercy, *Esq*;.
Thomas Acton of *Burton*, *Esq*;
Tho. Gillibrand, *Esq*;.
Tho. Grimshaw, *Esq*;.
Ralph Rishton, and Wil. Floyer. Gentl.
Richard Chorley of *Chorley*.
Iames Anderton of *Cleyton*, *Esq*;.
Will. Anderton of *Anderton*, *Esq*; With many others.

Mr. Edmund Church of *Essex*, was one of the

the first whose personal Estate was plundred, and his real sequestred, which so continued (without any allowance to his wife and children) from 1642. till 1649. when he died prisoner.

Mr. Iohn Barlow of *Pembrookshire*, his whole Estate (being at least 1500. *l. per an.*) was given to Col *Horton*, and Cap. *Nicolas*, without any allowance of any fifths, or other sustenance for his wife and many children.

*Here follow the new added names of those, that were slaine in his Majesties service.*

Sr. Timothy Tetherston killed at Chester.
Cap. Thomas Paston slaine at Yorke.
Cap. Henry Butler slaine at Brittle.
Mr. Richard Seborne slaine at Ragland.
Mr. William Astley slaine at Wiggan.

FINIS.

*Printed with permission.* 1668.